

IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 13

Feb. 16-22, 1977

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

40 Cents



In this issue

Andrew Young follows 'Roots' 3

A symbolic return to Africa

Socialists threaten Ypsilanti 7

Will Michigan City go red?

Italian CP aids Czech dissidents 9

Socialism needs democracy to survive, they say

Energy: mining the consumer 11

Four pages on real and artificial scarcity

Folk music is alive and well 17

It is in Chicago, anyway

Sadlowski in trouble

Page 3



IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week in July and the fourth week in December by the New Majority Publishing Co. Inc.

James Weinstein
Editor

M.J. Sklar
Associate Editor

Doyle Niemann
Managing Editor

John Judis
Foreign News Editor

Janet Stevenson
Cultural Editor

Judy MacLean
Dan Marshall
David Moberg
Bonne Nesbitt
National Staff

Jane Melnick
Jim Rinnert
Kerry Tremain
Art/Production Staff

Judee Gallagher
Advertising/Business Director

Torie Osborn
Circulation Manager

Carol Becker
Office Manager

Library Staff: Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Rosswurm.
Bureaus: Claire Greensfelder, Joel Parker, San Francisco;
Sarah James, Tim Frasca, Washington; Jon Jacobs, South-
ern.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky,
Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff,
Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Dan-
iel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritch-
man, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson,
Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz,
Paul Jacobs, Arthur Kinoy, Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer,
Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Harry
Magdoff, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos
Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari,
Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek
Shearer, Warren Susman, Paul Sweezy, E.P. Thompson,
William A. Williams, John Womack.

Main Office

1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622
(312) 489-4444
TWX: 910-221-5401
Cable: THESETIMES, Chicago, IL

Washington Office

P.O. Box 21072, Washington, DC 20009

San Francisco Office

4120 Telegraph Av., Oakland, CA 946009
(415) 658-6754

Southern Bureau

124 W. College Av., Decatur, GA 30030

News Services

Africa News Service, Congressional Quarterly News Ser-
vice, Editorial Research Reports, Gemini News Service,
Internews, Liberation News Service, Pacific News Ser-
vice, Peoples Translation Service, Reuter, Zodiac News
Service.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright
© 1977 by New Majority Publishing Co. Inc., 1509 N.
Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622, and may not be repro-
duced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without
written permission from the publisher. All rights reserved.
Publisher does not assume any liability for unsolicited
manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unac-
companied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes will
not be returned. Mail subscriptions, address changes
and adjustments should be sent to *In These Times*, Cir-
culation Department, 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago,
IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$15 annually. Advertising
rates sent on request; write *In These Times*, Advertising
Department, 1509 N. Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622.

All letters received by *In These Times* become the property
of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in
condensed form.

Printed at the Merrill Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts
International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.



Application to mail at second-class postage rates is pend-
ing at Chicago, Illinois.

This edition published Feb. 16, 1977, for newsstand
sales Feb. 16-22.

NEWSFRONT

Links or ground, it's still sausage

"Ladies and gentlemen," he began, "as this is my first press conference since the inauguration, I can imagine there are a number of questions. Consequently, I shall make no opening statement and will go directly to your questions."

The fifth question was about the Presi-
dent's nuclear arms policy: how soon
did he expect to begin talks with the Rus-
sians on a nuclear arms reduction.

"I favor strategic arms talks," he re-
plied. "It's a question of not only when
but the context of those talks."

"What I want to do is to see to it that
we have strategic arms talks in a way and
at a time that will promote, if possible,
progress on outstanding political prob-
lems at the same time — for example, on
the problem of the Middle East and on
other outstanding problems in which the
United States and the Soviet Union, act-
ing together, can serve the cause of peace."

Richard Nixon's reply shook the Wash-
ington press corps and threw Soviet Am-
bassador Antoly Dobrynin for a loop.
Nixon was articulating a strategy, later
attributed to Henry Kissinger, called
"linkage." Concessions in one area were
to be linked to another.

►Well, this brings up the question.

Last week, Washington was again buzz-
ing, but this time because Jimmy Carter
had openly repudiated the Kissinger-Nix-
on approach. Asked at his first press con-
ference whether he was concerned that
by criticizing the Soviet arrest of
dissident Aleksandr Ginzburg he was en-
dangering other aspects of American-
Soviet relations, Carter replied:

"Well, this brings up the question that's
referred to as linkage. I think we come
out better in dealing with the Soviet Union
if I'm consistently and completely
dedicated to the enhancement of human
rights, not only as it deals with the Soviet
Union but all other countries. And I think
that this can legitimately be severed from
our inclination to work with the Soviet
Union, for instance, in reducing depen-
dence upon atomic weapons, and also in
seeking mutual and balanced force reduc-
tions in Europe."

In his talk Carter proposed immediate
conclusion of SALT II (Strategic Arms
Limitation Treaty), which had been held
up pending an agreement on the Ameri-
can Cruise missile and the Soviet backfire
bomber. Carter proposed that agreement
on these two weapons be tabled for a
SALT III talks.

The Soviets can be expected to accept
Carter's SALT proposals. And while
American criticism of Soviet domestic
policies does not please them, they have
more to gain than lose from the public
abandonment of linkage, which Henry
Jackson used in 1974 to justify tying Jew-
ish emigration to Soviet trade concessions.

IN THESE TIMES

Subscribe now!

name _____

street _____

city/state/zip _____

☐ \$15 for one year.
☐ \$5 for three months.
☐ \$_____ Contribution.

Mail your check to New Majority
Publishing Co. Inc., 1509 N.
Milwaukee Av., Chicago, IL 60622



The dudes on the fence

The Soviet Communist party newspaper
Pravda even excerpted an interview with
Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in which
he criticized the concept of linkage.

►An institutionalized arms race.

But what is the significance of these pro-
fessed changes in our foreign policy? Not
as much as it would seem.

In her recent book, *The Game of Dis-
armament*, Swedish expert Alva Myrdal
describes the SALT talks as the "insti-
tutionalization of the arms race." The pre-
sent SALT II agreements, when consu-
mated, will limit the production of nuclear
warheads to approximately double the
present number. The first agreement,
SALT I, limited the sites for anti-ballistic
missiles at a time when none were in exist-
ence.

For the Soviets, the SALT talks are
seen as a possible step toward mutual cut-
backs in American and Soviet defense
budgets, as the USSR proposed in 1973.
The Soviet leaders know that they have
to expand consumer goods production if
they want to maintain popular support,
and the tremendous Soviet military bud-
get has directly cut into the consumer
goods sector.

For American leaders, the SALT talks
have a more ideological purpose. They
reflect a recognition of "rough parity,"
as Carter would put it, between the mili-
tary might of the U.S. and USSR, and
tend to put a damper on the arguments
for unlimited nuclear arms expansion ad-
vanced by the right.

But any major arms reduction in the
American budget would have to come
through a "Strategic arms reduction
agreement" reached among the vested
corporate and military interests, on the
one hand, and the rest of the world, in-
cluding the American people, on the
other hand.

►A necessary but not sufficient approach.

Has Carter really abandoned Kissinger's
"linkage" policy? Again here, it is not
clear. "Linkage" was another word for
"detente." Detente was centered on an
American willingness to relax trade re-
strictions and conclude arms limitation
agreements with the USSR in exchange
for Soviet willingness to help resolve crises
in the underdeveloped world.

During the Nixon-Ford years, an agree-
ment to refrain on both sides from jarring

public criticisms of the other became part
of the superstructure of detente.

The results of detente have been mixed.
American grain agreements and coopera-
tion around SALT I helped to secure some
Soviet cooperation in Vietnam and the
Mideast. But Soviet pressure made little
difference in Vietnam. And in Angola,
Kissinger was not able to force the USSR
into abandoning its support for the
MPLA.

If anything, Kissinger's experience
showed that detente was a necessary but
not sufficient part of American foreign
policy. The Americans and Russians, in
the manner of 1984, could not rule the
world alone.

Out of this realization, among other
things, grew the Trilateral Commission,
which has stressed the alliance between
U.S., Western Europe and Japan as the
basic component of American foreign
policy.

►Superstructure defeats base.

Domestically, the superstructure began
to defeat the base—the concepts by which
detente was explained was used to attack
it. First, Jackson introduced his own links
to the Soviet trade bill. Then, Carter and
Reagan used Ford's failure to invite Sol-
zhenitsyn to the White House to attack
his commitment to democracy.

Carter learned this lesson well and is
evidently determined to change the super-
structure while retaining the base.
"Linkage" is disgraced as a word. Criti-
cisms for Soviet human rights violations
are in, although they are couched in apo-
logetic and non-antagonistic terms.

These attacks may inevitably imperil
the Soviet regime, but they are not intend-
ed to do so, and have not been taken this
way by the Soviets. The main thrust of
detente will be to obtain Soviet aid in
Southern Africa and the Mideast in pre-
venting revolution. In exchange, Carter
will offer trade, technology and SALT.

When he accepted Carter's nomination
as National Security Advisor, Zbigniew
Brzezinski said that "detente, to be en-
during, to be accepted by the American
people, has to be a detente that is reciproc-
al and that progressively becomes more
comprehensive."

Where Kissinger talked of "linkage,"
his successor talks of "reciprocity" and
a "comprehensive" approach.

—John Judis

IN THE NATION

Sadlowski loses, will continue fight

By David Mohr
Staff Writer

Two days after the hotly contested national Steelworkers election on Feb. 8, the insurgents who had backed Ed Sadlowski for president were down, but not out.

Although preliminary returns compiled by the staff of Lloyd McBride showed him to be the decisive winner with 324,531 votes to Sadlowski's 238,579, the union rebels could celebrate some district vic-

"If Christ himself came back today, he couldn't get that many votes," Wheeling W. Va. Sadlowski organizer Raleigh Mason complained. It's doubtful, however, that all of McBride's lead could have come from cheating.

ories and pledged to continue building the Steelworkers Fight Back organization. From the talk around the Chicago campaign headquarters, a modest assortment of rooms above Roma's restaurant in South Chicago, it also sounded like another campaign was just beginning.

This was a campaign to discover evidence of fraud by McBride supporters and possibly prepare a challenge to the election. Sadlowski backers had said they expected voting irregularities. They claimed their predictions came true. They have some experience with cheating: Sadlowski was defeated in his 1973 race for district director in Chicago in an election that was voided by the Labor department because of ballot-stuffing.

Despite the large reported margin for McBride, Sadlowski would not concede. "In scrutinizing the results," he said, "we see a lot of things that went amiss with the election process." He urged jailing anyone guilty of cheating. "There's no room in the labor movement for a man who steals the worker's vote."

►Massive violations

Judy Schneider, an attorney with the Association for Union Democracy who helped Sadlowski in his district election, was convinced that there had been "massive violations that affected the outcome of the election, and I think we can prove it. I think the violation in this election were more serious than in the District 31 race, more flagrant, more gross."

Sadlowski has 10 days following the election to file a protest with the international union tellers. He can pursue his challenge to the international executive board and on to the Labor department, if necessary.

Preliminary and cursory analysis of the returns showed Sadlowski strongest in the industrial heartland from Illinois to Pennsylvania. He appeared to have done better in small locals than many observers expected, but he also seems to have done worse in the big steel local than he needed in order to overcome McBride's strength elsewhere.

Although Sadlowski probably won handily among the basic steelworkers, who make up roughly 40 percent of the union members, McBride ate into his margin in a number of areas. Also, the turnout in some big locals that were solid Sadlowski turf was not tremendous. Overall, less than half the membership voted, a disappointing turnout considering the controversy generated in the election.

►Weak outside central states

Sadlowski lost fairly heavily in the South, held even in the West and took a beating in Canada. Wherever the fledgling Steel-

workers Fight Back organization had activists, they did well, but their organization was weak outside the central states steelworking region. McBride benefited in Canada as well from the presence of a Canadian director, Lynn Williams, on his slate. Given the Canadian union reputation for militancy, Sadlowski's defeat there was bitterly ironic, but not unexpected.

Looking over results, the Sadlowski staff also saw the most flagrant evidence of voting violations in the South and Canada, especially in Quebec. In one small Birmingham, Ala., local, a Sadlowski observer discovered the ballot box one-third full before the polls even opened. In dozens of locals, especially in Quebec but also in other regions where Sadlowski had few election-day observers, there were suspiciously large margins of victory for McBride reported—58 to 0, 73 to 0, 77 to 1, 194 to 9, 28 to 0, for example, from a few locals in West Virginia.

"If Christ himself came back today, he couldn't get that many votes," Wheeling, W. Va., Sadlowski organizer Raleigh Mason complained. "You can't get 58 people all to agree on anything." It is doubtful, however, that all of McBride's lead could have come from cheating.

►Kept control of Chicago-Gary district

Steelworkers Fight Back held on to the Chicago-Gary district directorship, despite Sadlowski's apparent defeat. Sadlowski backer Jim Balanoff, the 54-year-old president of the union's biggest local at Inland Steel in East Chicago, had a commanding lead over his four opponents.

Balanoff believes as many as "seven or eight" of the 25 district directors on the union's new executive board may constitute a reform bloc. In the North Plains and iron ore country, Linus Wampler won the district directorship with a program much like Sadlowski's, although he was neutral in the presidential race.

Members of the Steelworkers Fight Back are convinced that, despite Sadlowski's apparent loss, the rank and file reform organization is stronger than ever. "We haven't shut off the lights and we don't intend to," Sadlowski said when asked what will happen to the reform drive. Wearing his standard brown leather jacket, with a 1937 "dues paid" button from the Steelworkers Organizing Committee, the 38-year-old Sadlowski said, "I'm going to be around for 27 more years, contrary to what some people say. You can bet your sweet ass on that." He is still a staff representative and could be appointed assistant director in district 31, after his term expires in June.

►A long way from being beat

"We're in better shape today than we were two years ago," new director Balanoff said. "We're a long way from being beat. We've got friends all over the country." The campaign put Steelworkers Fight Back, which started with a half-dozen people in 1972, in touch with dissident militants throughout the union. One indication of the limit to their organization was their inability to place election observers in more than 30 percent of the locals representing 60 percent of the union's members.

Although Sadlowski's showing can be taken as a gauge of discontent and militancy in the union, one staff organizer thought a victory would be a tribute to the organizers network of steelworkers in the plants and on the streets, who often took their vacation and spent large sums of their own money to campaign for Sadlowski. And what will it mean if you lose? "That the organization wasn't large enough."

With a campaign that stressed union

democracy, the right to strike, aggressive defense of workers' rights and safety, and making the union responsive to members' needs, Sadlowski did touch a solid core of discontent, even among the relatively well-paid basic steel workers. McBride had defended the union's record under I.W. Abel and opposed both the right to strike in steel and membership ratification of contracts.

"You need someone who'll flap his gums a lot and speak for the working man," 27-year-old Mike Sutherland said as he left the polling place at the U.S. Steel Local 65, Sadlowski's home base. "The guys in the union leadership have been there too long, and they begin to think like company people. We got to get back to representing the working man, and having somebody who's educated, not stupid."

►Backed by powerless

Others supported Sadlowski as a young man, someone they knew, a guy who came off the shop floor as a steelworker. His backers were usually those who felt

powerless. Jerry Jones, 28, a heavyset black steelworker complained about the no-strike clause in the steel contract. "It's like David against Goliath," he said, "and we don't even have a slingshot."

Although McBride had stronger support among older workers, many experienced workers in steel backed Sadlowski. Joe Havidic started in the mills in 1936. "Things have got worse, they really have. We have a schedule that's changed two or three times a week. How the hell you going to plan your life at home. The company preaches safety, but it's always your fault if you get hurt. I don't agree with everything Ed says, but I've known him for a good many years and I think he'll be better for us."

McBride supporters often had personal gripes against Sadlowski, but more often they felt he was inexperienced or too militant. "I don't believe in strikes much," Harry Bernas, 53, said. "ENA [the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement] has been very responsible, very good. Foreign steel is the most important thing in the damn picture."

Continued on page 20.

Young to Africa: US policy change

By Stephen Talbot
Internews

"It's just a coincidence," Andy Young told reporters when he arrived in Tanzania last week, "but it's really great that this trip follows after the success of *Roots*. The first black U.S. ambassador to the United Nations was starting his 10-day "fact-finding" tour of Africa well aware of the symbolic impact of the trip.

Just four months ago, Henry Kissinger was representing the U.S. in Africa on a high-pressure diplomatic blitz—a white Lone Ranger's "African safari." Now the U.S. was sending a black man—a veteran of the civil rights movement and an aide to the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King. He represented a new administration in Washington that professed a strong moral commitment to majority rule in southern Africa. And he said he was coming not to impose or sell an American "solution," but to listen to what African leaders had to say.

Young says he accepted the UN post from Carter—against the advice of friends and black activists—in order to "Africanize" U.S. foreign policy. "It's a continent that has been ignored for a long time," he explains.

►I can't take the rallies

Some African leaders were ecstatic. Nigeria's head of state, Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo—who refused three times to meet with Kissinger—welcomed Young enthusiastically. Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda told Young, "We have a lot of confidence in the Carter administration because of its principles." He urged the U.S. to "take the lead" in solving the problems of southern Africa.

Other Africans, including Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, were more skeptical, waiting to see what Young's "Africanization" of American policy would mean in practice.

Young scored a lot of points on style alone. He waded into friendly African crowds "with the ease of a Georgia politician on the hustings," according to one correspondent. He sat respectfully and

patiently through a five-hour ceremony of revolutionary speech-making, singing and marching at Zanzibar's flag-decked Amaan Stadium, jammed with 30,000 participants—although afterward, looking hot and exhausted, he cracked, "I can accept most of the sacrifices called for by socialism, but I can't take the rallies."

He also made many of the public statements Africans have been waiting a long time for a top American official to say. Young declared he could "almost guarantee" that Congress would repeal the Byrd amendment, which allows American purchase of Rhodesian chrome in violation of the UN embargo, "within 30 to 36 days."

He described Tanzania's popular leftist president as "one of the men in the world I respect most." He told reporters that Rhodesia's white minority leader, Ian Smith, had blown it two years ago by not settling with black moderates, and that now Smith had no choice but to deal with black militants. And he said it didn't worry him if the black government that replaces Smith is Marxist, because he was sure it would trade with the West.

►Less paranoid about communism

The *Rhodesian Herald* was outraged, comparing Young to a "strolling player from the theater of the absurd." But the denunciations in the white-minority press only enhanced his prestige in black Africa.

Before leaving for Africa, Young told CBS that the Cuban troops in Angola had been invited by the leftist MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) to help repel the South African invasion of October 1975, and he expressed the view that the Cubans had brought "a certain stability and order" to Angola after thousands of skilled Portuguese technicians abandoned the country.

That was going a bit too far for the State Department, which issued a "clarification," saying that neither Secretary of State Vance nor Young condoned the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. But the subtle shift in U.S. policy—away from Kissinger's complete hostility toward

Continued on page 8.

Capitol Beat

Economist Gar Alperovitz of the Exploratory Project for Economic Alternatives.



Carter declines to appoint alternative economist to CEA

In his first fireside chat, President Carter underlined several themes that will supposedly guide his new administration: citizen participation in evaluating government programs, reorganization of the federal bureaucracy and a new spirit "to plan ahead, work together and use common sense." He also promised an "open administration" with frequent opportunities for people to "criticize, make suggestions and ask questions."

A few days later, Carter passed up an opportunity that might have begun to turn this vague commitment into programmatic reality: he declined to appoint

Alperovitz would be ideal for the job, since he has focused his work on alternative economic forms

Gar Alperovitz, an economist specializing in alternative economic models, to the Council of Economic Advisors (CEA).

The Council, headed by Charles L. Schultze, will play an expanded role in the Carter administration. Replacing several White House economic bodies, this Cabinet-level working group will administer and coordinate Carter's domestic economic programs and link them with foreign policy considerations.

Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin was among those who suggested that one of these posts be given to Gar Alperovitz, a 40-year-old economist who directs the Exploratory Project on Economic Alternatives. Alperovitz would, he thought, serve as a "channel of communication" to the President for the views of "consumer, minority and other groups." Alperovitz combines impressive academic credentials—as a Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge in England and a Guest Scholar at the Brookings Institute—with extensive government experience since the mid-1960s, Nelson wrote to Carter.

When word of Alperovitz's consideration got around Washington, a coalition of Democratic leaders (including Sen. Edward Kennedy and Sen. Hubert Humphrey), labor leaders, citizens' groups and environmental organizations formed to press for the appointment. The coalition also advocated broader conception for the Council, urging that Alperovitz be assigned the "dual responsibilities of fostering public citizen participation in de-

veloping overall economic policy and of seeking out new economic alternatives and helping to create an informed national dialogue on options for future policy considerations."

Alperovitz would be ideal for the job, coalition members said, since he has focused his work on alternative economic forms involving long-range economic planning, citizen participation, and decentralized decision-making. In his *Notes Toward a Pluralist Commonwealth*, (Beacon Press, 1973) Alperovitz analyzes existing socialist systems and proposes an economic system that would integrate decision-making on a local, community level with national planning on the basis of social need.

"In place of the streamlined socialist planning state," Alperovitz writes, "...I would substitute an organic diversified vision—a vision of thousands of small communities, each organized cooperatively, each working out its own priorities and methods, each generating broader economic criteria and placing political demands on the larger system out of this experience."

With views like this, it's no surprise that the possibility of his appointment was controversial. Ralph Nader called it a "very potent litmus test of the whole Carter administration's horizons."

Carter apparently flunked the test last week, when he appointed Lyle E. Gramley, senior economist for the Federal Reserve Board and William D. Nordhaus, an economics professor at Yale University, to fill the remaining slots on the Council of Economic Advisors. The appointees are "fairly progressive economists in the traditional sense," one observer remarked, who favor vigorous governmental intervention in the economy and will work well on Schultze's economic team.

Most coalition members did not realistically expect Alperovitz to get the job, one person close to the scene told *In These Times*. But the fact that a diverse coalition of groups and individuals spontaneously organized to press his appointment suggests that coalition efforts around alternative economic proposals are possible. "Many of these groups—environmentalists, trade unionists, and citizens' organizations—are beginning to understand the connection between their particular issues and the very structure of the economic system," he says.

—Dan Marshall

Carter backs Paul Warnke in arms control skirmish

By Tim Frasca
Washington Bureau

A few balloons went up last week to see if Paul C. Warnke's nomination as American delegate to the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) could be directed to the same graveyard where the Sorensen CIA nomination is resting quietly. The answer was a resounding "No," demonstrating at least that Congress and the Carter administration are more serious about reigning in the arms race than bucking the discredited but potent "intelligence community."

Warnke, a law partner of former Defense Secretary (under L.B.J.) Clark Clifford, was also nominated to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), charged with presenting disarmament policy options to the White House. Warnke is well known for his strong advocacy of arms control as a prudent national security policy, which excited enough dismay to generate a modest buzz-buzz campaign reminiscent of the Sorensen treatment.

Critics of Warnke surfaced predictably among traditional hawks in Congress such as Senators Henry Jackson, Sam Nunn of Georgia, and John Tower of Texas. Additionally, emphatic and embarrassing frequent calls from Sen. John Danforth (R-Mo.) for a cameo appearance by Paul Nitze indicated the weighty presence of the ubiquitous Committee on the Present Danger constellation.

Nitze, a former Deputy Secretary of Defense, represents the extreme hardliners of the Pentagon and defense industries, now assembled in the C.P.D. and anxious to keep the defense dollars flowing into their respective domains. Presumably, they fear arms control in general and Warnke in particular will mean fewer contracts.

► No backdown.

An ill-advised unsigned memo purportedly outlining the specific contours of Warnke's softness on arms issues was circulated around Capitol Hill. It did little to alarm senators but provided an excellent opportunity for Warnke's supporters to pontificate on the "very unfortunate and

highly improper" choice of tactics, in Sen. Frank Church's words.

The crucial point, however, at Warnke's debut before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was made by Sen. Hubert Humphrey who promised that the White House had the resources to put the nomination over and would mobilize

The hardliners of the Pentagon and defense industries, now assembled in the Committee on the Present Danger, are anxious to keep the defense dollars flowing into their respective domains.

them. "This is no backdown," he said, obviously sensitive to recent history. "This is, if need be, showdown."

The rapid isolation of opposition to Warnke suggests the administration's eagerness for arms agreements has broad appeal in ruling circles. With Warnke sailing, Carter held his first official press conference and floated several possible areas of U.S. initiative in striking for arms records.

Although Warnke said he rejected "any concept of unilateral disarmament on the part of the United States," as he has been accused, he pointed to a long tradition of first moves by every President since Eisenhower. In the well-known American University speech of 1963, President Kennedy agreed to stop atmospheric nuclear testing, he said. Nixon unilaterally renounced the use of chemical and biological weapons in 1969, leading to the treaty in 1972.

By the time he was done, Warnke had members of the committee, either convinced or resigned to polite opposition in low tones, and the administration had won a skirmish in the hard-fought "national security" war. Others will follow.

But the proportions of the victory made it look almost too easy. At least the appearance of restraint in nuclear arms issues must be the consensus of the guardians of the corporate state. ■

Wilmington Ten case Sounds Bell on frameup

The new Attorney General, Griffin Bell, who drew such heat for his segregationist past, has been presented with a relatively cheap opportunity to demonstrate that he is not, in fact, a racist.

Representatives of the so-called Wilmington 10 called on Bell in his office Feb. 2 to press for his support in freeing the civil rights activists from lengthy jail terms. The supporters claim that the one white and nine black prisoners were framed on charges of arson, conspiracy, and rioting.

Bell told the group that the Civil Rights Division had opened the case at his direction and would investigate whether there was a conspiracy by law enforcement officers to railroad the 10. The announcement elated black rights organizations and others who had pressed for action for years. A Justice Department representative said Bell moved because he had "received so many requests" on the case.

Convictions of the Wilmington 10 grew out of a bitter desegregation campaign in the city of Wilmington, N.C. On a winter night in 1971, a white grocery store was firebombed, and the church that was the center of black political activity was shot at.

The ten defendants, all prominent organizers, were arrested. They have maintained consistently that the arrests and prosecutions were frame-ups designed to crush the agitation by blacks.

All ten were convicted and sentenced to extremely long prison terms, amounting to a total of 282 years.

In the last six months two witnesses, including star prosecution witness Allen

Hall, have retracted their testimony, saying they were bribed and coerced into false statements. Hall even charged that a Treasury Department employee taught him how to make a Molotov cocktail so that Hall could claim Rev. Ben Chavis, a

In the last six months, two witnesses have retracted their testimony, saying they were bribed and coerced into false statements.

defendant, had showed him. The Treasury official has denied doing so.

Since the retractions, lawyers for the 10 have asked for their freedom on bond pending disposition of the case. The North Carolina courts have denied appeal bond.

The U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the Wilmington 10's appeal.

Black Congressional Caucus staff aide Bill Kirk said the Justice Department could have a report ready in a month. Kirk said the case had a high "symbolic impact" among blacks.

Bell's move could also strike fear among the prosecutors and others involved in the case. For Bell himself, freedom for the Wilmington 10 could pay handsome political dividends, considering the present deep suspicion of him among black people.

—Tim Frasca

Environment Front

A consortium of American, Japanese and Iranian companies are moving to construct a billion dollar super-port on Palau, an 80-mile-long chain of mostly small islands in the Western Pacific. Specific plans for the port, which would become the major transshipment center for petroleum in the Pacific basin, have been kept hush-hush in the last two years. But the issue is now gaining public attention, as islanders debate the project's economic and ecological impact and U.S. environmentalists gear up for another battle with multinational oil interests.

Since World War II, Palau has been an American colony as part of a United Nations Trust Territory. The islands are typical Pacific "paradises": tropical fruits, plentiful fish, colorful coral reefs, and a quiet, laid-back life style. The U.S. now pours \$6 million per year into the islands, money that will stop in 1981 when the Trust Territory dissolves.

Local businessmen on Palau—the few that exist—say that the port will bring jobs and unparalleled prosperity to its residents, creating a veritable Kuwait in the Pacific. The islanders are split. Some agree that the port is their only hope for entry into the industrialized world. Others are concerned that the facility would disrupt the islands' environment and traditional way of life.

Robert Panero, the super-port's principle architect, claims it would have "zero leak" technology, but scientists believe that it would cause massive destruction of the reef systems and widespread pollution of local waters. In 1975, the Pacific Science Association urged that the project be abandoned because it would harm reefs that are "unequaled in Oceania." Environmentalists also point out that Palau's frequent typhoons could easily split oil tankers in two. Official environmental impact studies have yet to be done.

Fitzhugh Green of the Environmental Protection Agency studied the project and concluded that "this agency can imagine few situations more rife with the dangers of serious and irresponsible environmental harm than the construction and operation of a major oil transshipment facility on Palau."

Members of the Save Palau Organization are showing films of major oil spills to villagers. Whatever the islanders and the multinational oil consortium decide about the project, the controversy has aroused anger and resentment towards Americans.

Carter faces test on environmental commitments

Trouble is brewing between President Carter and the environmentalists among his supporters. Bert Lance, Carter's director of the Office of Management and Budget, informed the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) on Feb. 2 that Carter is not likely to restore the sharp cut in the agency's budget made by the Ford administration.

Lance's statement caused concern that Carter may not come through on campaign promises on a wide range of environmental reforms. "Without additional funds, EPA will be unable to meet its current responsibilities, much less insure that environmental protection is given the high priority you endorsed during your campaign," leaders of 16 national environmental groups wrote to Carter. They urge "substantial changes" in the agency's budget.

Environmental groups have not yet accused the President of reneging on campaign promises, but see the EPA as an important test of his commitment. "It's very disconcerting to think that the Agency's budget may be frozen under this administration," Arlie Schardt of the Environmental Defense Fund recently told the *New York Times*. ■



Photo by Lionell/CWI

Tim McCoy, county supervisor, receiving petitions.

Seabrook: self determination at stake

Nuclear plant on New Hampshire coast endangered by militant citizen resistance

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

In the small fishing town of Seabrook, New Hampshire, a local controversy over construction of a nuclear power plant has escalated into a heavy-weight boxing match between the full-speed-ahead advocates of nuclear power and environmentally-minded citizens.

In one corner is New Hampshire's Public Service Company, the largest utility in the state, which began buying up land and water rights for the plant in 1969. In the other corner are the people of Seabrook, who rejected the plant last March in a non-binding referendum and the Clamshell Alliance, a loose coalition of New England anti-nuclear groups.

The Seabrook fight attracted nationwide publicity last August when the Clamshell Alliance organized two non-violent sit-ins at the plant site. The demonstrations, where a total of 200 people were dragged off by the police, were the first time the tactics of civil disobedience had been used by "anti-nuke" groups in the U.S. More demonstrations are to come.

"There's a heavy cloud hanging over Seabrook," says Guy Chichester, an Alliance spokesperson from Rye, N.H. "Those plant site occupations were the kind of demonstrations that cannot be ignored—an indication of the commitment and conviction of people. If the Public Service Company wants to make Seabrook a watershed for the future of nuclear power, they can do it."

►Ideal location.

Seabrook is an ideal site for a nuclear plant because of its favorable location on the Great Bay of New Hampshire, an ideal source of water needed for the plant's cooling system. It was also chosen, Chichester explains, because of its "favorable political climate" and its "chronic unemployment." (The town's main industries are fishing and tourism, which only operate during the summer.)

"So the company went around wheeling and dealing in property," says Chichester, "making a lot of enemies in the town in the process." They eventually bought the town's water rights and the dump. In exchange Seabrook received a new well and the promise of economic prosperity and the company began building its plant on a rock outcropping overlooking a marsh that leads into the bay.

The utility first planned to dig two canals right through the marsh for the plant's cooling system. "It was a horrendous plan," Chichester remarks. "All kinds of established citizens came out and said it was a foolish plan. In 1970, the Seacoast Anti-Pollution league got the ball rolling by hiring a lawyer to develop a case."

Based in Rye, N.H., SAPL intervened in the federal hearing process to protect wildlife in the marsh. It is not an anti-nuclear organization, though some of its members later organized the Clamshell Alliance.

►Onassis tries to build refinery.

The fight to stop the Seabrook plant gathered additional momentum when Aristotle Onassis came to town in the fall of 1973. The Greek shipping tycoon wanted to construct a 450,000 barrel per day refinery on the Great Bay, an area readily accessible to oil tankers. He planned to run 10 pipelines from the refinery to a man-made docking facility in the ocean that could handle six supertankers at a time.

"The opposition to Onassis' plan really got everyone involved," Chichester remembers. "In a short, swift campaign, we appealed to town meetings and zoning boards, got laws passed and they left town within six months."

"This set the stage for the Seabrook battle because Governor Mildrim Thompson, who sees himself as the Energy Czar of the Northeast, switched all of his efforts into Seabrook. It also gave people on the seacoast a consciousness about protecting the natural resources they have here," Chichester continues.

In 1974, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) rejected the utility's canal plan. The company then proposed to extend two mile-long pipes into the ocean to carry 1.2 billion gallons of water per day into the plant and then return it to the ocean some 40 degrees hotter.

SAPL brought in marine biology experts to testify on the environmental damage this cooling system would cause, but the EPA ruled construction could begin. SAPL appealed and produced additional evidence about the plant's impact.

On Nov. 9, 1976, the EPA reversed its earlier decision and ruled that the cooling system was "unacceptable." "All marine life in that water, including eggs, young and adults of hundreds of species, will be killed," EPA Regional Adminis-

trator John McGlennon wrote to the *Wall Street Journal* recently.

The Public Service Co. calls the EPA decision "arbitrary, capricious and fickle" and claims that a redesigned cooling system would cost \$250 million. Russel Train, outgoing head of the EPA, has accepted a review of the Seabrook ruling, placing the issue squarely in the lap of whoever President Carter appoints to administer the Agency.

The company was struck by another blow on Jan. 21 when the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) temporarily suspended their construction permit. The NRC will decide this week whether construction can continue until a final determination is made on the merits of the Seabrook project.

The Seabrook controversy has already influenced the construction of other nuclear plants and the tactics of anti-nuclear groups. The Central Maine Power Co. recently postponed a similar power station and several utility executives expect other cancellations to follow. "The effect of this confusion will seriously jeopardize any new power plant construction because of the massive uncertainties over financing," Rep. James Cleveland (R-N.H.), whose district includes Seabrook, told *Business Week*. Several investors in the Seabrook project have delayed further spending until the EPA decision is appealed.

Like other groups in France and West Germany, nuclear opponents in this country are adopting the sit-in tactic. In Plattsburg, N.Y., 12 people have been arrested over the last two months for trying to stop a network of power lines that they believe will be followed by a nuclear plant. In California, a coalition of organizations is planning an occupation of the Diablo Canyon plant in San Luis Obispo.

And in Seabrook, the Clamshell Alliance has called for another mass sit-in for April 30th, one they say will bring people from all over the country.

►Critical place for self-determination.

Seabrook is a "critical place for self-determination," says Guy Chichester. "Nuclear power is clearly being forced on us by the lords of the established power. A democratic society depends on informed people, but people have not had a chance to be informed about nuclear power. If we're successful here, I think it will give great heart to people everywhere who want to give shape to their own lives." ■

HRP independent rejoins Democrats

By Toby Aaron

Lansing, Mich. In Michigan's 1974 gubernatorial election, Human Rights party candidate Zolton Ferency had a hard time seeing any difference between his Democratic and Republican opponents. "Tweedledum and Tweedledee," he called them.

Late last year, Ferency rejoined the Democratic party.

The Michigan Human Rights party (HRP) was founded in 1970 by anti-war Democrats who found it impossible to work any more within their own party. Prominent among them was Ferency, the first Democratic state leader in the country to condemn President Johnson's war policy. Ferency got attention at the time because of his long-time identification as a leading figure in the Michigan Democratic party. In 1966, for instance, he won more than 40 percent of the vote for governor as the Democrats' sacrificial lamb against incumbent George Romney.

In 1971, Ann Arbor's student-based Radical Independent party merged with HRP. The new party took part in non-electoral activities, supporting strikes in small plants and the United Farm Workers' boycott. And during 1972-73, two HRP members were elected to each of the Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti city councils.

In Ann Arbor, where the student movement at the University of Michigan provided its base, the party also put a number of issues on the ballot, including rent control, proportional balloting for mayor, money for day care and a \$5 marijuana fine.

►Mostly a campus phenomenon.

Despite occasional victories, the party remained mostly a campus phenomenon. Its only active chapters were in campus towns—East Lansing, Ann Arbor, Kalamazoo and Ypsilanti—and it failed to attract significant working class or black support.

A 1974 attempt to establish a beachhead in Detroit and a state-wide movement through Ferency's campaign for governor proved abortive. An effort to have a state referendum last year on a public takeover of utilities likewise fell short when the necessary 300,000-plus signatures were not obtained.

Ferency says of it all: "We tried for six years—public positions, candidates, the public power petition. All that in my judgment created not even a ripple. We never gained credibility on a state level."

And so, late last fall, Ferency moved back into what for several years had been anathema: the Democratic party.

"I'm not in there to capture the Democratic party or reform it," he said in a recent interview. "Given the American marriage to the two-party system—we tried to divorce them—people are going to have to get their political information from the two parties."

In Ferency's view, the advent of a Democratic administration in Washington opens the way for criticism from the left wing of the party—criticism that he says will get attention. "Criticism of Carter coming from within the Democratic party will get published. As an HRP person, it would never see the light of day."

"We're the only Western 'democracy' (his quotes) with no viable socialist movement. There's still an awful lot of red-baiting. If we do nothing else, we can get socialism discussed on its merits and not as some alien philosophy."

►No attention for third party.

Boiled down, Ferency's contention is that HRP spent 90 percent of its time merely trying to get into the public eye; its platform of democratic socialism, adopted at a 1974 convention, received no attention at all.

Even those who were active in HRP would have difficulty refuting such an

argument. But some say, with some justification, that Ferency's numerous legal actions on behalf of the party—to disband the state's "red squad," throw out its biased campaign reform law, and do something about overcrowded prisons—received media attention. They say that whatever attention Ferency gets, he will get whatever his party, simply because he is a colorful character throwing occasional monkey wrenches into the works.

Ferency argues otherwise. Recently, his new group—the Democratic Socialist Caucus—challenged the state Democratic leadership and the story went out over the wires.

"There's a goodly number of socialists in Michigan," he says. "They've never been organized. There are more in the Democratic party than there ever were in HRP."

He candidly admits that a significant fraction of the state's Democrats are downright reactionary: "They welcomed the Wallaceites, catered to them."

Ferency, likewise, has no illusions about the new president, whom he calls a continuation of the establishment, the military-industrial complex. "But he emphasizes again: 'Democrats attacking Democrats is news.'"

►Skepticism and cynicism.

Some of those who founded HRP with Ferency are skeptical of his switch. "I don't think Zolton or those who followed him will get very far," says Howard Jones, who remains active in the Lansing HRP. "A lot of very powerful Democrats, union people especially, remember Zolton and are not going to look with favor on his return."

Some of his once-enthusiastic supporters are cynical enough to suspect that part of Ferency's move came because he "enjoys the limelight." They point to his habit of hobnobbing with former Democratic colleagues in the state capital, where he seemed to be in his element.

But Ferency points out that he has never received a political plum, and it seems hard to believe he would ask for or receive one now. He does continue to harbor schemes for step-by-step socialism, such as creation of a public state bank and insurance company to eliminate redlining. (Some in HRP were wary of Ferency from the start for his adherence to a New Deal-type of approach.) Public housing, national health care, the TVA—all, he says, were labeled as socialist. "And there was a time in the early days," he says, "when we thought that was exactly what we were up to."

Other observers fear that Ferency will soon become a perennial losing candidate, making a spectacle of himself and, by association, the left. "Am I becoming the Harold Stassen of Michigan?" he asks. "There's no likelihood that I ever will," he replies, saying his recent candidacy for state Supreme Court was taken seriously.

Ferency's switch again raises the question—but does little to resolve it—of whether the left should work within the Democratic party or outside it. Third party adherents say Ferency's action allows the Democrats to look good, showing they can tolerate a left opposition. He himself maintains that there could yet be a proliferation of political parties as the Democrats and Republicans split apart at the seams.

"We're ready, willing and able at all times to splinter off." He points in particular to the black community that "one of these days is going to wake up and find out the future is bleak in the capitalist structure." In the meantime, he group, affiliated with Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, will try to begin a dialogue among Democrats.

Toby Aaron is a newspaper reporter in Michigan.

Zolton Ferency left the Democratic party to help form the Michigan Human Rights party. Now he's gone back to the Democrats arguing it's the only way to get heard.

The Insurgent Electorals



Socialist victory in Ypsilanti?

By Eric Jackson

Ypsilanti, Mich., is the scene of an electoral campaign that could bring a socialist government into City Hall. One of a string of car-manufacturing towns between Ann Arbor and Detroit, Ypsi, as it is often called, is also a college town, home of Eastern Michigan University. The city's population of 29,000 is 20 percent black, 40 percent student, 19 percent unemployed and has a median age of 20 years and 10 months.

Ypsilanti is divided into five wards, two (3 and 4) are student dominated, one (1) is almost all black, one (5) is predominantly white working class and the fifth (2) is almost all white middle class.

In April socialists hope to add to the two seats they now hold on the city council. Running for mayor and city council seats in wards 3, 4 and 5, they have a chance to have six of the 11 seats on the

HRP joins S.P.

At a Feb. 7 meeting in Lansing, the membership of the Michigan Human Rights party voted to affiliate themselves with the Socialist party, USA, based in Milwaukee.

The vote temporarily affiliates HRP with the Socialist party until final approval by the general membership for complete merger in March. It comes in the wake of a split in the HRP in which a part of its membership re-entered the Democratic party (see accompanying stories) and a disintegration of the People's party with which HRP had previously been affiliated.

council. If the socialists win a partial victory, which is considered likely, the conservative Democrat-Republican coalition that dominates the city council will be broken up. A socialist-liberal coalition would likely replace it.

The main event in several of the city council races will be the Feb. 21 Democratic primary. This will be the first time that socialists in Ypsilanti have taken part in a Democratic primary. Ypsi's two socialist city council members were elected in 1974 and re-elected last year on the Human Rights party ticket. With the crushing defeat of the Human Rights party in November, Ypsi HRP joined the newly created Democratic Socialist Caucus.

The Democratic Socialist mayoral candidate is second-term city council member Harold Baize, a well known environmentalist who has been active in movements to ban unsafe nuclear power plants and non-returnable bottles. His support in the third ward crosses party lines, and he has been endorsed for city council by the conservative Ypsilanti press in the past. Recently, Baize has gained some headlines for his challenge to the practice of city council members who accept gifts (in this case six bottles of liquor each) from the company that holds the city garbage pickup contract. Baize is also well known as an advocate of women's rights, having sponsored the creation of the city's women's commission and having worked for a rape crisis program.

Running in the third ward is Ken Devine, of the Student Defenders Union, a campus civil liberties group. Last year, he was vice-president of the Residence Halls Association, having defeated his oppon-

Continued next page.

ent in the upcoming primary. Although his conservative Democratic opponent is expected to outspend him, Devine is favored to win in his student-dominated ward.

In the fourth ward, prominent activist Dave Nicholson is challenging the incumbent Democrat. Nicholson chairs the bargaining committee for U.A.W. Local 1975. He was the coordinator of the Ypsilanti Marijuana Initiative, which reduced the fine for marijuana possession to \$5 in 1974. Earlier Nicholson worked with the Student Mobe and sat on the Flint Model Cities Board when a high school student.

The socialist candidate in ward five is Pete Murdock, former civil rights and SDS activist. Since then, he has been active in the tenants union, the U.A.W. and the food co-op. Last year, Murdock ran the re-election campaign for Ypsilanti's two socialist city council members and for the defeat of a series of ballot proposals designed to eliminate the ward system of electing the city council.

There are many issues in this election. A rampant political patronage system and conflicts of interest can be laid at the doorstep of the incumbent Democrats. The incumbents also are vulnerable because they supported the unpopular ballot proposals to eliminate the ward system.

Budget and tax issues are playing an important role in the campaign. The dominant conservative coalition has cut human services, increased administrative budgets, and raised taxes. A proposed "tax increment financing plan" for downtown redevelopment promises to shift the tax burden from business to residential property by freezing downtown tax revenues.

Rent control and enforcement of present housing codes are important city issues, especially in the fourth ward, which is almost entirely populated by tenants. As a substitute for the socialist rent control proposal, the incumbent Democrats set up a five-member rent study commission that had no tenants (or socialists) on it.

Underlying all of these issues are long standing class antagonisms. The Chamber of Commerce, landlords and other wealthy interests have dominated the city council for years. The city's wealthiest neighborhood, the west side, has unfairly low tax assessments and receives better street maintenance than other neighborhoods. Until the ward system went into effect in 1973, the west side held a majority of the seats on the city council.

However, these interests are split for this election. The west side Concerned Citizen's League is at odds with the Chamber of Commerce downtown development schemes. The west side Democratic mayor and the west side Republican mayor pro-tem, having been political allies for years, are now opposing each other for mayor. Since there are no contested Republican primaries and Michigan has open primaries, GOP crossovers could play an important role in the Democratic primary. This could work in different ways. It is expected that some Republicans will vote for Baize in order to knock off the incumbent Democratic mayor, while others will vote for the incumbents to stop the socialists. Also, since both the mayor and the mayor pro-tem support the Chamber of Commerce downtown plans, while Baize opposes them, Baize is expected to gain some normally non-socialist homeowner votes.

In the campus wards (3 and 4), the socialists already hold two of the four seats, and many students, including the campus newspaper editors, are calling for a united campus area delegation on council. In the context of this election, this means the election of two more socialists. ■

Eric Jackson is a socialist city council member from Ypsi's fourth ward.

The Insurgent Electorals



Photo by Sam Silver

Berkeley electoral alliance split over Communist

By Jill Breslau and David Fogarty

Berkeley. Since 1967, the Berkeley left has been organizing electoral coalitions to win a majority of seats on the city council. Until recently, the latest left incarnation, Berkeley Citizen's Action (organized in 1975) was given a good chance of capturing a council majority this April and of implementing its ambitious program of cooperative economic development and rent control.

But at the BCA convention last month, the nearly 500 delegates who attended became locked in a bitter struggle over whether to include Mark Allen, a young black Communist party member, on its four-person council slate. While the BCA's third world caucus initially supported Allen, many influential BCA members, including incumbent city council members, strongly opposed him.

After hours of debate, caucus meetings and negotiations, leaders of both sides accepted a compromise whereby the convention endorsed only three candidates and did not nominate anyone for the fourth slot. This allows Allen to run as an independent without opposition from a BCA-backed candidate.

The fight over Allen left the BCA divided and less optimistic about the April elections. "We are now in a weaker position," Ilona Hancock, present city council member, told *In These Times*, but we'll just have to work really hard to get our three elected."

►Are Communists electable?

The prospect of winning a majority on the city council made the convention battle over Allen's candidacy especially bitter. Some students and representatives from neighborhood groups argued that Allen

was not "electable" and that if he were endorsed, the entire slate would lose votes due to "red-baiting." They claimed that Allen's membership in the CP would be-

"it would be naive to deny that anti-communism will cause me to lose some votes.... Black and working class people don't feel represented on the council now. Many of them will support me."

come the major issue, diverting attention away from rent control and community social services.

"It would be naive for me to deny that anti-communism will cause me to lose some votes," Allen responded. "But I think I can register enough disenfranchised people in South and West Berkeley to compensate for that.... Black and working class people don't feel represented on the council now. Many of them will support me."

Allen's supporters also cited his experience as a draft-resister and his work on the city's Human Relations and Welfare Commission. In 1975, running as an independent, Allen received 35 percent of the vote.

His supporters charge that a large group of BCA delegates refused to support an otherwise attractive candidate solely because of his CP membership.

►Accountability an issue.

Both Hancock and the other BCA council member, Ying Lee Kelley, questioned the accountability of a Communist party

Mark Allen, a young black Communist party member, sought a place on the Berkeley Citizen's Action slate for City Council. Opposed by prominent members of the coalition, he withdrew from consideration in a last-minute compromise.

member to BCA. "The CP has a fine agenda," Hancock commented, "but it is not ours."

One BCA member charged that "the Communists intended to run Allen whether he received the BCA's endorsement or not." In the past, BCA members had dropped out of the race upon failing to receive the organization's endorsement.

The compromise on Allen's candidacy was reached after Morgot Dashiell, a black junior college instructor, and Kelley, who had earlier been unanimously chosen to run on the BCA slate, said they would not run on the same slate with Allen.

The Third World Caucus, of which both Allen and Dashiell were members, then withdrew its endorsement of Allen, and Allen took himself out of the race on the condition that the BCA would not fill its fourth slot. Veronika Fukson, vice-president of the Berkeley Planning Commission, was chosen for the third spot.

►The April election.

At least Kelley and Dashiell are still expected to win in April. BCA members base their optimism on the strong showing that John George, who was identified with BCA's politics, made in beating moderate William Rumford in last fall's county supervisor election.

But winning only two seats will still leave BCA in a minority with four seats on the nine-person city council. The campaigns of Fukson and Allen will therefore be crucial for the Berkeley left. ■

Jill Breslau and Dave Fogarty live in Berkeley and work for the *East Bay Voice*.

Andrew Young: from SCLC to UN

By Boyd Lewis

Andrew Jackson Young, first black cabinet-level appointee of the Carter administration, got tagged with the label of "mediator" early on. He is a man quite used to walking tightropes over the bear pits of the southern civil rights movement, Atlanta's Community Relations Commission, the U.S. House of Representatives and, in 1977, has begun to do so as the American ambassador to the United Nations.

Young, the central strategist and chief negotiator for Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference for virtually the entire brave and bloody decade of the 1960s, comes to the UN at a time when the U.S. is alone and reviled in the world body for constant refusals to condemn and move against racist apartheid regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia and its support for Israeli colonization of lands seized in the 1967 and 1973 wars.

It is to be a time of extraordinary risk for Atlanta's Fifth District Congressman for it could destroy one of the most widely esteemed political reputations in the nation if Young turns out to be a strings-attached puppet employee of Cy Vance's State Department and the White House, casting lone vetoes against the world.

►Coming back south...

Young is a product of what was the microscopic black middle class in New Orleans, born at the height of the Depression. His grandfather, tended bar and ran a grocery store in Franklin, La., and his father, like his brother Walter, was a successful dentist.

He attended public schools in New Orleans in 1955, he graduated from the Hartford Theological Seminary and was ordained a minister in the United Church of Christ.

Like Dr. King, he came "back South" just as the civil rights movement kicked off with the Montgomery bus boycott and pastored churches in rural Alabama and Georgia. His social activism began with employment with the National Council of Churches and in 1961 he joined the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Young's trip to Africa

Continued from page 3.

Cuban intervention—had already registered in Africa. And in Tanzania, Young repeated the theme, promising that the Carter administration would be less "paranoid" about communism in Southern Africa and more concerned about racism.

Although he clearly established a rapport with a number of pro-Western African leaders, Young parted company with others—especially African leftists—on a number of critical issues.

He met Angola's President Agostinho Neto in Nigeria—an important step since the U.S. still does not recognize the Angolan government. But he reportedly gave a "noncommittal reply" to Neto's suggestion that the U.S. and Angola normalize relations. Young said he also rejected Neto's argument that guerrilla warfare is the only way to achieve majority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). "He's the first one I've openly disagreed with," Young said.

Yet, the presidents of the other "frontline" countries—Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana—have all issued a public declaration agreeing with Neto's position on Rhodesia.

Young also disagreed with the decision of the Organization of African Unity and the frontline presidents to endorse the Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe as the sole representative of the Rhodesian struggle. Young said the Carter administration did not want to see moderates, such as Bishop Abel Muzorewa, excluded. If the U.S. pushes Muzorewa,

it is certain to antagonize Africans who are very wary of American efforts to install pro-Western clients in newly-independent countries.

►Corporations as catalysts for change.

But the greatest gap between Young and many African leaders is over how to end apartheid in South Africa. Countries like Tanzania, Mozambique and even Nigeria want the U.S. to impose economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. Young and Carter, however, say they want to maintain the \$2 billion American corporate investment in South Africa. Both Georgians view American multinational corporations in South Africa as a force for reform—a view hotly disputed by black students and the two liberation movements in South Africa.

Young told a closed-session congressional hearing last fall that he had "never had a bad experience with a multinational corporation." On several occasions, he has recalled working out an agreement with "100 businessmen" in Atlanta during the early '60s to end racial segregation laws and has said that he would like to follow that "Atlanta model" in Johannesburg. Recently, he met with Harry Oppenheimer—South Africa's diamond and gold mining magnate—to share views on how business leaders can change the apartheid system.

Young's preference for corporations as "catalysts for change" is welcomed by "enlightened" American and South African businessmen—anxious to preserve their economic holdings in a period of tremendous black upheaval. But Young's credibility and influence in black Africa will be sharply reduced if he insists on pushing this corporate strategy at the UN and on future African missions.



Andrew Young with Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary-General.

Photo by UN

In 1964 Young became executive director of SCLC, then executive vice president three years later. His function was that of gentle but uncompromising negotiator with whites in scores of small towns and cities throughout the embattled South.

After the mule trains led by SCLC "field marshal" Hosea Williams departed, after the demonstrations, sheriffs' attacks and international media coverage, Young would arrive to set deadlines and guidelines, open public accommodations, and wrench loose promises of jobs and decent education. His personal integrity and devotion to the Gandhian-King ideal of nonviolent social transformation and

common brotherhood were respected by all but the most unreconstructed whites on the other side of the conference table.

Birmingham and Selma, for all their violent resistance of the civil rights movement, left Young personally unscarred but during a march in St. Augustine, Fla., he was attacked by a white thug with a blackjack and beaten to the ground. He, like his probable successor to Congress, John Lewis, has a movement medal decorated with oak leaf clusters and bright red blood.

►Runs for Congress.

After Dr. King's assassination in Memphis in 1968, SCLC was thrown into organizational and financial turmoil. For Andy Young, remaining in a secondary role within a crippled SCLC held little future and even less prospect of helping achieve progressive social change. So he took the sort of risk that helped him jump from the ministry to SCLC and from SCLC into politics.

Young became the first black congressional candidate in a century to receive the nomination of a major party and took the Democratic banner in 1970 for Atlanta's Fifth district seat held by a ranking Nixonoid Republican, Rep. Fletcher Thompson.

"Think Young" his square blue and white badges implored the district, but Young lost to Thompson, who made blatant appeals to race to win with 56 percent of the vote.

Another critical factor in Young's loss at his first shot at becoming Georgia's first black congressman in 99 years was poor black voter turn-out. Only 60 percent of the district's registered blacks voted in the 1970 campaign and Young's 16,000 vote margin of defeat could have been breached by a moderate get-out-the-vote campaign.

The lesson learned, Young began assembling an extraordinary machine to register, inform and transport the voters of the future campaign. In the meantime, former Mayor Sam Massell, himself a political maverick, appointed Young to a highly visible but nonpaying position as chairman of the Atlanta Community Relations Commission.

In 1972, Fletcher Thompson, swollen with the juices of the building Nixon Reich, deserted the congressional district serving Atlanta and ran for the U.S. Senate. He lost but Andy Young, building on his two year civic internship with the city's CRC and a get-out-the-vote mechanism that has become the single most powerful political apparatus in the South,

took the Thompson seat and became the first black Georgian to serve in Congress since Jefferson Long in 1871.

In 1974, Young got an astonishing 72 percent of the vote for re-election to a second term. His only opponent in the 1976 campaign was a surly, soon forgotten white conservative Republican. Young hardly bothered to campaign so certain was his re-election, and most of the spring through fall months were spent on the road making a case in a skeptical black community that his fellow Georgian, that peanut Plantagenet from Plains, was a humanist and authentic liberal.

►Not a puppet.

This yeoman service to Carter led the candidate to say that he had only one personal campaign debt for victory in 1976, one to Rep. Andrew Young. Jimmy Carter owes his election more to Andy Young than any other individual; Andy Young owes Carter nothing and did not take the controversial UN assignment to help Carter.

Andrew Jackson Young has a mind of his own and those who denigrate him as now a token black puppet taking his marching orders from the Oval Office know neither the man, his 15-year career nor the intense pacifistic and humanistic philosophies that propel him.

Yet there is still the queasy feeling in much of politically hip black Atlanta that incredibly enough, goes along with the recent editorial column penned in venom by one of Young's most rabid enemies, rightwing editor John Crown (USMC Col. Ret.) who broadsides in the *Atlanta Journal*.

The UN, wrote Crown, is just the right place for Andy Young. There, he will be a governmental employee, politically deballed and packed away with the Reds and coloreds unable to continue his legislative devilry in Congress.

A long time staffer confided at a pre-Christmas party in Atlanta: "Of course I'm nervous. This could be a dead end for Andy but he sees it as a risk he must take to take America out of the firing line of the rest of the world. You can be damn sure that he's not going to jump when Jimmy say jump. He feels that this is a chance to take the best of the civil rights movements ideals and elevate them to the international sphere."

Boyd Lewis is a long time reporter in Atlanta and has worked with the *Atlanta Inquirer*, *Atlanta Voice*, *Great Speckled Bird* and *Creative Loafing* newspapers. He now works with WABE radio and WETV television.

IN THE WORLD

Italian CPers link fate to Czechs

By Diana Johnstone

Since Soviet tanks in August 1968 suppressed the budding socialist democracy of the "Prague spring," Czechoslovakia has been sunk into cynicism. Their hopes of creating a new and better society crushed, Czechoslovaks in the past eight years have concentrated on cheating the system and acquiring as many consumer goods as possible.

On Jan. 6, the long silence was broken by a manifesto entitled "Charter 77" in which 241 leading intellectuals jointly proclaimed the responsibility of all citizens to defend human and political rights. The "mediocracy" of dullards and opportunists who have run Czechoslovakia since all the bright people were demoted in the Soviet-sponsored "normalization" went into their usual routine of rounding up herds of sheep to drown out eccentric noises with their bleating.

But Charter 77 had been heard loud and clear in the West, where several communist parties—notably the Italian, Spanish and British—defended it in terms that made the official denunciations of "counter-revolutionary agents" less credible than ever.

►Czech situation special.

Charter 77 got its strongest support from the Italian Communist party (PCI). On Jan. 15, the PCI newspaper *Unità* published a front-page article by one of its leading intellectuals, Prof. Lucio Lombardo Radice, which illustrated the originality of the Italian Communist approach to the relationship between political freedom and socialism.

Referring to a statement he and five other Italian intellectuals had issued two days earlier expressing their "alarm as communists" and "grave concern" at the denial "harmful to cultural creativity in general" and leading "to the impoverishment of Marxist thought," Radice insisted that the situation in Czechoslovakia was "altogether special."

It was special because it "stemmed from the August 1968 military occupation by five Warsaw Pact countries that interrupted the *natural development* of socialism in that country ('socialism with a human face,' 'socialism in freedom') and even turned it around." The term "natural development" expresses a sort of historical relativism about a given society's potential at a given time.

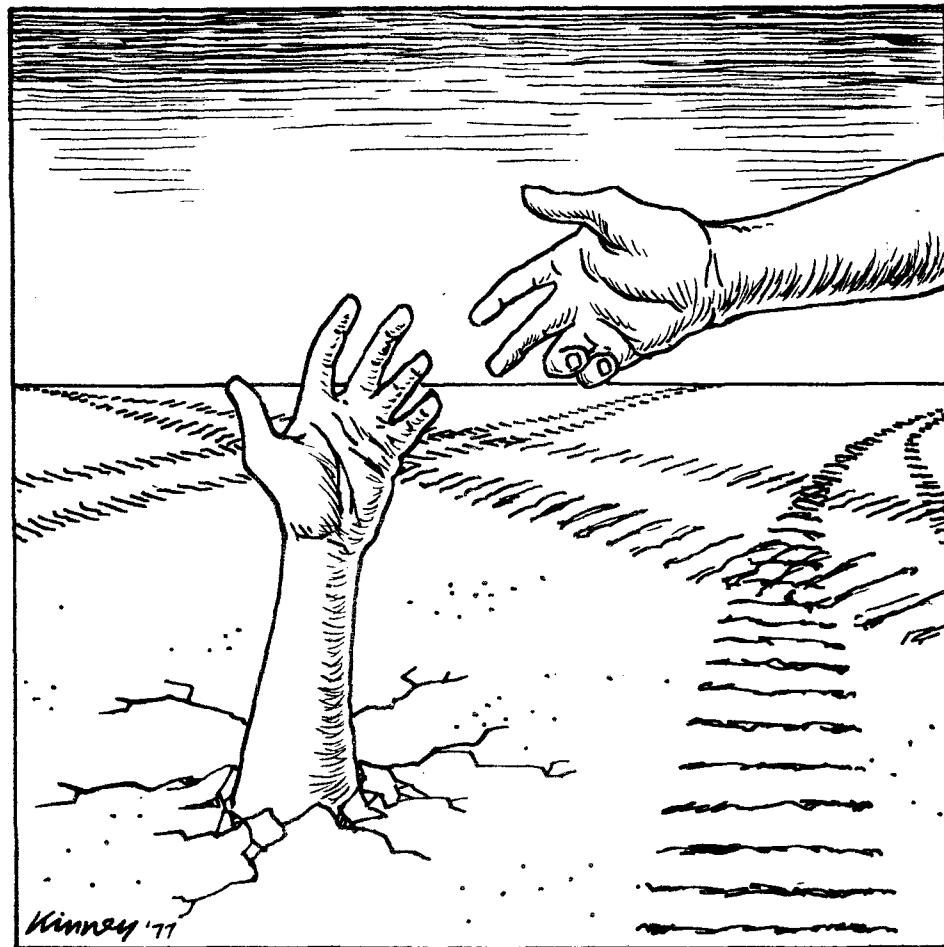
For an abundance of historical and cultural reasons, Czechoslovakia was ready and able in 1968 to attain a higher level of political life than any other Eastern country. As seen in Czechoslovakia (and in Chile, for all the differences), the forcible blocking of a "natural development" pushes the precocious society back to a particularly low level.

►Imperfect socialism needs safeguarding.

Radice carried his idea of natural development further in arguing against those (who exist on both the left and right) who maintain that political democracy is by nature capitalist. Such an identification "does not make the necessary distinction between social structure and political system," Radice observed, noting that capitalism had existed in a variety of political systems—monarchy, republic, democracy, oligarchy, even fascism—and that socialism was also showing up in varying political forms.

He then made a more profound point: "What people fail to understand is that one could proclaim the need for a drastic and thorough overhaul of political institutions as a self-defense measure for the very salvation of a socialist structure."

The Italian Communists recognized, he said, that the "imperfect socialism"



The Italian Communists do not make statements about human rights to impress their enemies. Rather, the PCI is deeply worried by signs of decadence in both East and West, and far from being demagogic, their criticisms of Eastern regimes are carefully measured to be as effective as possible in Eastern Europe itself.

that exists in the East brought overwhelming improvements to masses of people, as can be seen by comparing China to India, for instance. But socialism can preserve its best accomplishments only by advancing towards full political freedom, he cautioned. "We criticize specific political systems and specific ideologies in order to safeguard, defend and develop those historic conquests that we regard as positive in the socialist countries."

The need for societies that find themselves in a rapidly progressive phase of their development to move forward in order to keep from falling into catastrophe is most keenly felt within the Italian left today. If Czechoslovakia needed in 1968 to move towards political democracy to preserve its socialist achievements, Italy needs to move toward socialism to preserve its democratic achievements.

This natural development is being blocked in Italy by outside forces every bit as imperious (for all their differences in style) as those that blocked Czechoslovakia's natural development in 1968. This parallel is the most profound source of the sense of kinship that binds the Italian communists to the Dubcek communists of the Prague spring.

►U.S. ambassador doubts democratic communism.

Leaving Rome this month, outgoing American ambassador to Italy John Volpe said he would "like to believe [PCI leader Enrico] Berlinguer is in good faith" and that the PCI if it entered the government could be a "democratic and pluralistic party." But the lessons of history deprived him of the pleasure of this belief, he claimed.

This is patently untrue. It is quite ob-

vious that Volpe, along with other U.S. officials and policy-makers, does not want to believe that a communist party could be democratic, just as he does not want to believe it could be successful in any way. He and they want the adversaries of the capitalist system to be as frightful as possible so that they will be easier to defeat.

The Italian Communists, who know this, do not make statements about human rights to impress enemies like Volpe. Rather, the PCI is deeply worried by signs of decadence in both East and West, and far from being demagogic, their criticisms of Eastern regimes are carefully measured to be as effective as possible in Eastern Europe itself.

While Italy's natural development is blocked politically by the joint U.S.-Christian Democratic-West German refusal to allow a coalition government to pull the country out of its sinking economic situation, the PCI took a major step to try to unblock the situation on the cultural level at an extraordinary national conference on "The Contribution of Culture to a Project for Renovating Italian Society" held on Jan. 14 and 15 in a big theater in Rome, with all the top party leaders and a crowd of the country's major cultural figures attending. Rather than issuing its own program, the PCI issued a forceful appeal to Italy's intellectuals, teachers, technicians, scientists and creative artists to get to work to design utopia—and to make it real.

►Make virtue of austerity.

In the opening speech to the conference, Aldo Tortorella stressed that the "radically anti-dogmatic" Gramscian school

of Marxist thought had made Italian communists particularly aware that the constant and open confrontation between various cultural and intellectual currents allowed each to enrich itself while enriching the "patrimony of total consciousness."

This patrimony or heritage is necessary to the progress of any people. "The more its consciousness is thinned out, the more a people risks being left by the wayside and defeated. A Marxist culture incapable of grasping that is untrue to its own inspiration. By the same token, a nation whose cultural texture is fragile cannot aspire to hold its own and move ahead. In Italy," Tortorella added, "there is danger of such a decline..."

In the closing speech, Enrico Berlinguer made a bold and comprehensive appeal to Italians to use their wits to make virtue of necessity. While all the PCI's enemies, and quite a few of its friends, have been expecting economic austerity to accomplish the political ruin of the PCI, by splitting it from its working class base, Berlinguer saw it as an opportunity to jettison the consumer society, with its false values of waste and selfishness, and begin the transition towards a new way of life based on more humanly satisfying values.

Instead of being a concession to capitalist requirements, austerity "can become a conscious choice against them" — a necessary choice, Berlinguer said, because the West cannot go on indefinitely living high on the hog off the exploitation and misery of the Third World. Unless a new pattern of development replaces the illusory model of a prosperity built on ever-expanding personal consumption, the world is headed for social deterioration and conflicts that threaten civilization itself, he warned.

Italy has a "peculiarity," Berlinguer noted. "This country, which is going broke, which is in a mess, is also a lively country, full of energy and great democratic spirit. This Italy, which is the country where the crisis is perhaps more serious than in other parts of the capitalist world, is also the country where the chances are incomparably greater than in many others of working within the crisis itself to turn it into an effective means of accomplishing overall social change."

►A cultural revolution.

Italy's rich cultural and political history, including a profound anarchist tradition, have indeed endowed the Italian working class movement with a unique strain of idealism, saving it from the pitfalls of economism and corporatism, a political consciousness and sense of responsibility that make it uniquely equipped to go beyond economic demands and build a new society with new values. There is also a uniquely comfortable relationship between the working class movement and intellectuals that makes the PCI's appeal to "the world of culture" appropriate to Italy's "natural development."

In one of the many speeches at the conference, publisher Giulio Einaudi expressed enthusiasm over the project and suggested launching major campaigns on concrete topics, such as Italian agriculture or public health.

"Exploring, criticizing, going more deeply into reality, thus involving ever broader strata of intellectuals, abandoning the path of literary prizes to turn to the path of transforming real things—there is the starting point of a possible cultural revolution," the publisher said.

If the Italian state withered away altogether, it might never be missed.

Diana Johnstone is a Paris journalist who also writes a monthly newsletter, *Owl*.

Part IV

A New French Revolution?

A Four-Part Series

Dictatorship out, democracy in

In 1972 the French Socialist and Communist parties agreed to a "common program" for achieving socialism. Since then, the united left has steadily increased its vote and its active membership. In the 1978 assembly elections, a left victory is now deemed likely. In a series of four articles, of which this is the fourth, Bernard Moss explores the nature of the coalition between Socialists and Communists and the chances for the "peaceful transition to socialism" that they seek.

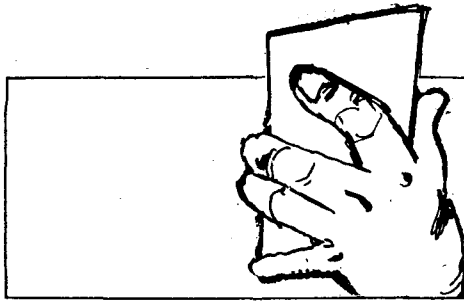
By Bernard H. Moss

The surprise announcement made by Georges Marchais, Secretary-General of the French Communist party, during a television interview last January that he was going to ask the party congress to abandon the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat caused a sensation everywhere but within the party. Party statutes and program define quite explicitly what is meant by the "temporary dictatorship of the proletariat," but the term had long since fallen into disuse because of the popular identification of the word dictatorship with fascist regimes.

Discussion of the doctrine in party cells and federations was brief and superficial, and the verdict nearly unanimous. With nary a dissenting word, the party that is still considered the most orthodox of the Euro-Communists voted to abandon the concept that Marx considered his most important contribution to socialism. For the orthodox, the action was a blatant admission of revisionism, of the party's abandonment of class struggle. For the *Wall Street Journal*, however, it was a sign that the French Communists had become a force to be reckoned with.

►Image not substance at issue.

Actually, the debate was more concerned with popular image than substance. The party handled the affair more like a Madison Avenue blitz than like a theoretical revolution. Coming after party documents had already been submitted for discussion, the announcement was the last piece in a public relations campaign that had fea-



tured the smiling athletic face of the Secretary-General and the open democratic face of his party.

The reason given by Marchais for the alteration was that the phrase transmitted a false impression of the nature of political power under democratic socialism. The term "dictatorship" was associated in people's minds with fascist regimes.

The term "proletariat" was identified narrowly with production workers. It did not customarily include supervisory, technical and engineering personnel who also shared in the production of surplus value. Nor did it include other salaried employees who were objective allies of the working class. In short, the phrase did not convey the idea of a democratic regime exercising the rule of the modern working class and its allies.

Critics of the change understood that the real issue was the peaceful transition to socialism. Public opposition centered around Louis Althusser and his group of academic philosophers. As proof of their democratic procedures, the party published parts of a critique by Etienne Balibar, one of these philosophers, in the party daily *l'Humanite*.

Balibar questioned the underlying assumptions of a peaceful transition, pointing to weakness and division in the socialist world, the integration of France into the imperialist network, and the undiminished capacity of the U.S. to intervene against social progress around the world. He wondered with what the party would replace this scientific concept. But these criticisms had little effect on either workers or intellectuals, most of whom are wedded to the new liberalism.

►Original Marxist usage.

Delegates at the party congress in February 1976 did not really condemn the con-

cept, but the use of the phrase and its identification with the one-party Stalinist state. Programmatically, the party was still dedicated to the dictatorship of the proletariat in its original usage and meaning.

It was still committed to overthrowing the constitutional rule or class "dictatorship" of the bourgeoisie and its replacement by that of the working class and its allies. The function of this working class "dictatorship" would be to use the persuasive and coercive powers of the state to extend social ownership and control of industry and commerce and to defend it against attempts at capitalist restoration.

While protecting minority rights—but not privileges—this proletarian state would exercise physical constraint upon its enemies only if they resorted to subversion and violence. This state would be governed by a coalition of parties devoted to socialism and elected by the overwhelming majority of the people.

Because of its concentration, role in production and degree of consciousness, the working class would still play the leading role in the construction of socialism with the Communist party showing the way and guiding the process to its conclusion. In this way, the Communists would reconcile multi-party democracy with the vanguard role of the revolutionary party.

Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not seen as a sudden and violent reversal of class rule, but as the result of a process of ever-widening democracy, with the quantitative advance of workers' control and public ownership growing into the qualitative leap of socialism. The wager is that the protection and extension of democratic rights—both the traditional bourgeois liberties of press, religion, and association, and the economic rights of strike, worker control and self-management—will give a mobilized working class a decisive advantage over the bourgeoisie.

Workers' democracy will be gradually extended over all areas of political and economic life until it becomes in fact a

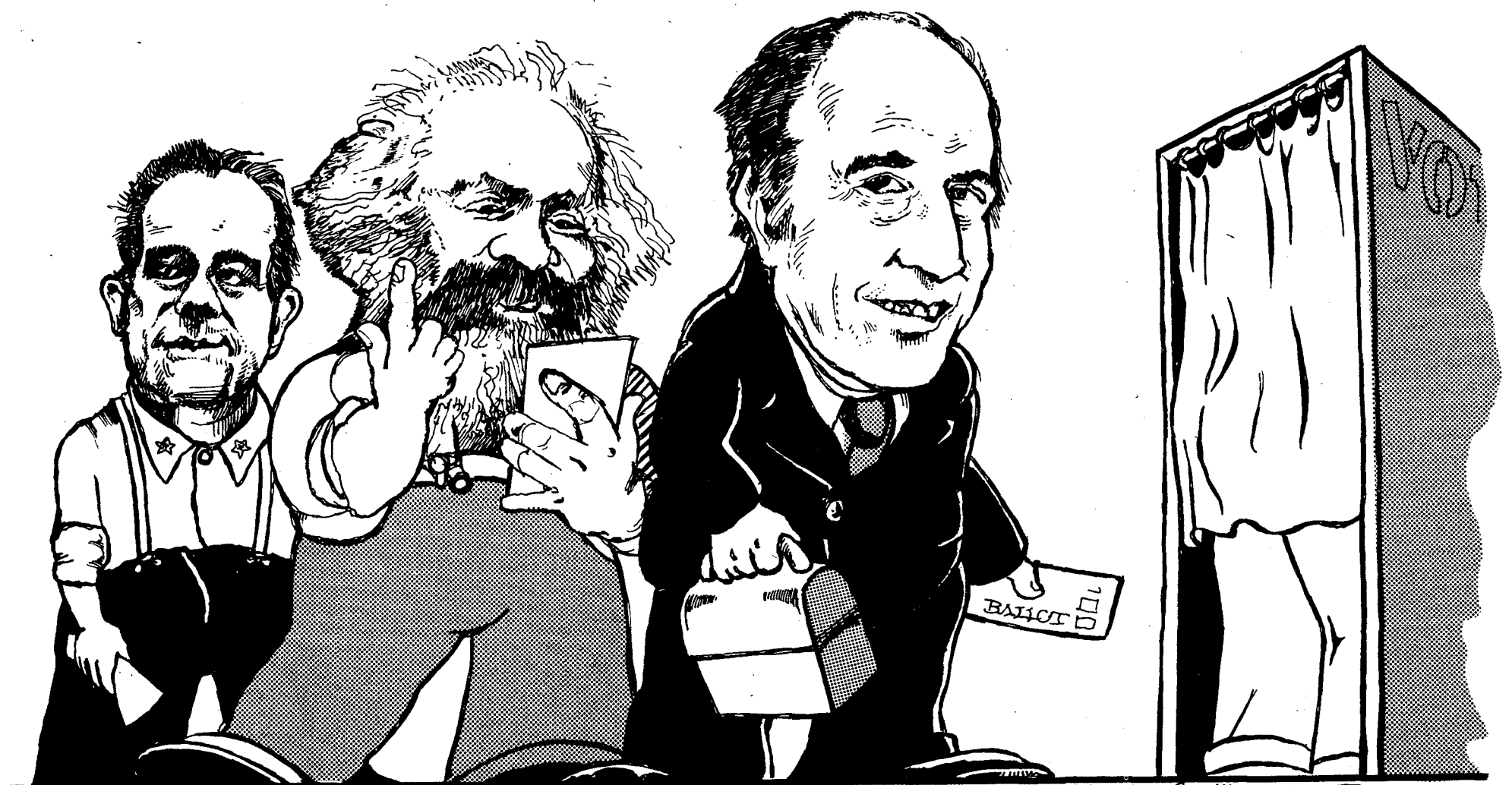
dictatorship of the proletariat. The first despotic inroads made on capitalist property in the Common Program will encourage greater advances of public ownership and worker control until all workers are drawn into the movement for socialism. Whether the process will occur without violence will depend chiefly on the capitalist class, but the Communists will do everything to build such a large consensus for socialism that it will discourage armed resistance and insure the transition without civil war.

►Break with Leninist orthodoxy.

In this scenario, the Communists have broken with the Leninist orthodoxy regarding the necessity to smash the state through violent revolution. When Marx and Lenin asserted this necessity they were dealing with the French and Russian Empires, repressive bureaucratic, militaristic and clerical state machines that exercised their class domination more through coercion than persuasion. The civil and military bureaucracy in these states constituted a barrier to the advance of democracy that had to be smashed before the road to socialism was taken.

The French Communists say that this is not the case in their country today where there is—with all its limitations—a functioning democracy in which the civil and military administrations can be made accountable to the majority. A socialist government coming to power legally and possessing democratic legitimacy would be in a position to purge those agents of the ruling class in the state apparatus who would try to sabotage the advance to socialism. Having democratized the civil and military administrations and made them responsible to the democratic majority, a socialist government could then use their persuasive, regulatory and coercive instruments to advance toward socialism without provoking civil war.

Bernard H. Moss lives in Paris and is writing a book on the French left. He is the author of *The Origins of the French Labor Movement*.



Georges Marchais —
George Mitterand & Karl Marx voting

Energy & Environment

They Withheld The Gas And Waited For a Cold Winter

Three years ago the "Seven Sisters" (the major oil producers) made us wait in long lines to buy gasoline, thereby softening us up for higher prices. This time around, wearing their natural gas hat, they have resorted to terror, backed up with expert public relations assistance from none other than President Carter.

Carter's response to the not-so-sudden "shortage" of natural gas was to rush through Congress a somewhat deregulation allowing producers to ignore the present interstate gas price ceiling of \$1.44 per thousand cubic feet.

Critics charge the measure endorsed profiteering from natural gas shortages. "We wonder," says a Senate staffer, "whether Exxon would have shovels during a flood or shovels in an earthquake."

"If we have to have people literally freezing to death," says Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), "business segments of the business community don't think they're enjoying a sufficient rate of profit—a highly questionable premise in the oil and gas industry, to say the least—then what is the FPC (Federal Power Commission) for?"

The industry maintains that higher prices are needed to expand exploration and drilling for new gas and deny that any gas is being held off the market in expectation of higher prices. But industry representative David Foster of the Natural Gas Supply Committee qualified his denial, saying that every gas well presently was producing "as much as is technically and economically feasible to produce."

Although no one outside the industry really knows for sure what's underground (including the President, says Conyers), environmentalists and congressional critics go well beyond suspicion. "They've withheld their gas supplies," Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.) said flatly, "and waited for a cold winter. It's the beginning of deregulation, absolutely."

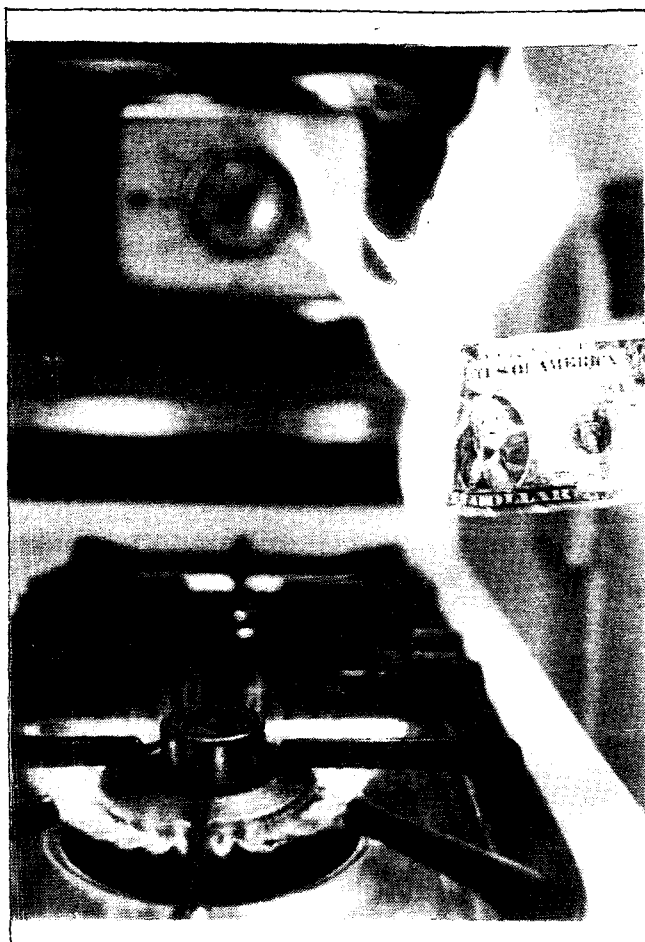
Abourezk thinks Carter should have gone before the American public and demanded emergency supplies at no extra profit. "Congress and the country are being muscled by the oil and gas industry," the Senator says, comparing Carter's gas bill to the Tonkin Gulf Resolution that began U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. "I call it the Exxon-Gulf Resolution," he cracks.

Tom Gerard of the Energy Action Committee feels that the producers are trying to make natural gas as expensive as OPEC oil, and industry statements appear to substantiate the claim. Gas bills should be higher, says Foster, costing "at least as much as the amount of money that we're paying the Arab states for the crude oil that we're importing to substitute for natural gas."

Of course, those who expected Carter to take on the energy companies and are disappointed have only their own naivete to blame. Last October, when his election was still in doubt, Carter wrote the governors of Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma pledging to "work with the Congress to 'deregulate new natural gas.'"

Environmentalists, thought to be optimistic about the new regime in Washington, are generally livid about the natural gas policy.

At the same time, with natural resources in private hands, not giving in to the companies presents a thorny problem: How, after all, do you get the gas to flow? If producers are determined to extort from the public, as their critics charge, some-



The energy giants waited and planned. . . The winter gave them the chance . . . Here we look at the history of the illusive gas, reactions to the crisis and the options before us.

thing will have to force their hand. And is that something, whatever it is, within the power of the President of the United States?

As Foster said, "These people are in business—just like you and I are in business—to earn an adequate profit. We're not in a humanitarian business."

Once Thrown Away Now It's A Pawn In The Energy Game

By Neill Herring

Atlanta. Natural gas, like many of the comforts of our "business civilization," was once a lowly and unwanted waste product. Found in the earth at the same places oil and coal are usually discovered, for years natural gas was simply regarded as a hazard to oil men and coal miners. (It remains a hazard in the mines since no efficient way has as yet been devised to capture it for use.)

Oil fields used to blaze in the night as the unwanted gas was burned off. And astonishing as it may sound, the burning of "waste" gas continues at some wells to this day.

One of the early commercial uses of gas was one of the least efficient to which it could be put: it was burned in furnaces to extract its tiny percentage of carbon for use as a black coloring agent. At that time, the most common source of gas for heating was coke gas, a substance produced when coal is cooked in ovens. The municipal coke gas plants had the disadvantage, however, of being heavy polluters, and being dependent on distant coal supplies.

Someone finally thought of using the natural gas that came out of the oil wells as domestic fuel. The idea was eminently sensible. Here was a product that came out of the ground ready for immediate consumption. It pushes itself out of the ground and through pipelines. All it needs is to have a nasty smell added so people can tell when it's leaking.

The costs of producing and marketing gas are largely the capital expenditures. After the land holding the reserve has been acquired, the well bored and

the pipeline to transport it built, labor and maintenance expenses are minimal.

►Federal land leases.

The question of the land under which the gas is found is an interesting one. A large percentage of the total gas reserves of this country are located under the continental shelf in the Gulf of Mexico. This land is public property and cannot be bought and sold by operators. They lease the sea floor from the government and then drill their wells for gas.

The terms of the leases are such that if producible gas is found on federally controlled land, the gas must be produced and must be sold at the federally regulated price. Public ownership theoretically gives the government a means to control the flow of gas and the market price. That control has proven to be illusory. Hearings by a House committee headed by Rep. John Moss (D-Cal.) discovered last year that companies were not, in fact, producing all the gas they found on federally controlled lease lands, preferring instead to wait for higher prices.

There usually are three sale transactions in getting gas from the fields to homes and businesses: gas producers sell gas "at the wellhead" to pipeline companies; pipelines then sell to local distributors; the gas companies sell to the consumer.

The 1938 Natural Gas Act gave the Federal Power Commission broad powers to regulate transportation and wholesale sales of natural gas in interstate commerce, but until 1954 the FPC had authority only to regulate the second stage of the sales process, between pipelines and local distributors. High prices at the wellhead stymied FPC efforts to keep consumer prices down as each wellhead increase was passed down the line.

In June 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the FPC could also regulate the wellhead price of gas destined for interstate sales. Sales of gas within the producing state, as well as sales between the local distributor and the consumer, remained either unregulated or subject to state regulatory bodies.

Natural gas prices were held low throughout the '50s and '60s by strict FPC regulation, making the cheap, clean burning gas an attractive fuel. By the mid-'70s, natural gas provided roughly 30 percent of America's energy.

►Battle over deregulation.

The people who produce the gas—those who own the leases, gas fields and pipelines—are our old pals the oil companies. They resent FPC regulation,

Continued on page 14.

What to do?

- ☐ Deregulate
- ☐ Nothing
- ☐ Get tough
- ☐ Nationalize

In the next few months Congress and the Carter administration will consider significant changes in policy towards our oil and gas resources. What are their options?

1. Deregulation. This is favored by the oil and gas industry and now appears to be the likely choice of the Carter administration. Opposed by consumer groups, deregulation will also meet significant opposition in Congress.

If it comes, it will undoubtedly be accompanied by rhetoric about controlling "unwarranted profits" (as Carter hinted in his press conference on Feb. 8), but this is still likely to mean higher prices to the consumer.

2. Maintaining the status quo. This is not a likely option, since the situation is steadily worsening. Any attempt to continue the current half-hearted regulation will, most assuredly, lead to continued attempts to force changes through manufactured "shortages," with resulting disruption of the economic and social fabric of the nation.

3. Stricter governmental action. This option, apparently favored by liberal forces, would entail tighter governmental regulation of the energy giants.

Antitrust action would certainly fall into this category. Feb. 8, 31 House members introduced legislation to break up the major oil companies, saying that it would result in healthy price competition. Interior secretary Cecil Andrus on Feb. 6 said he favored horizontal divestiture measures that would prohibit energy corporations from owning competing sources of energy.

A tough administration, backed by a tough Congress, might be able to bring the giant energy companies into line, but there is little likelihood of that happening. Carter, for his part, has indicated no desire to take a strong independent stance and his top energy official, and likely choice to head an Energy Department, James Schlesinger, is considered even friendlier to the energy corporations.

4. Nationalization. So far the possibility of nationalization of energy resources is not taken seriously. A few congressional figures, led by Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) have raised it as a possibility and several unions endorsed it during the '73-74 "energy crisis."

Supporters point out that nationalization is virtually the only way to bring equitable and rational control to the development of present and future energy resources. Given the strength of the energy lobby in Washington, however, it is doubtful that nationalization will be taken seriously unless it is forced upon the Congress by an outraged public.

In response to a direct question in his Feb. 8 press conference, President Carter said "I'm against nationalization of the oil industry." Acknowledging the fact that substantial production of oil, natural gas and coal takes place on land that is already public, he added that the present system of leasing by private companies was preferable to nationalization or public development.

Energy & Environment

Over the next three pages we look at the new Energy Czar's consolidation of power . . . the human effects of strip mining and the prospects for controlling them . . . the importance of coal leases in the West . . . and the race for offshore oil.

Schlesinger Can Develop An Empire From Any Position

By Tim Frasca
Washington Bureau

The apparent rapid consolidation of James Schlesinger's fiefdom as Carter's energy strongman may mean some painful surprises for those anticipating progressive natural resources policies from the Carter administration.

While generally positive attention has been given to Idaho Gov. Cecil Andrus' appointment as Interior secretary, rumors have been circulating of reorganization plans that would dismember Interior and leave Andrus presiding over a significantly reduced department. Schlesinger's energy office would be the beneficiary.

Schlesinger is an apparent anomaly within the new administration. He is a hard-line, conservative Republican and served Nixon and Ford as CIA director and Secretary of Defense. The ultra-right Committee on the Present Danger, representing the military-industrial complex, is believed to have originated in Schlesinger's Pentagon office.

Carter, however, is said to be "mesmerized" by Schlesinger's abilities and domineering temperament and wanted him to return to the Defense Department as secretary. Unable to accomplish that for political reasons, Carter placed Schlesinger in the White House as special adviser for energy matters (needing no congressional approval), even though Schlesinger's positions are consistently at odds with Carter's campaign statements on energy-related matters.

A memo circulating among concerned congressional offices states that Schlesinger is "adamant" on transferring federal lands administration from Interior to the proposed Energy department. Environmentalists are appalled at the prospect of switching the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). The Secretary overseeing BLM has many enforcement and discretionary powers and "friends of Interior," the memo states are "worried and ready to fight."

►A foot in the door.

Schlesinger, added one observer, "knows how to develop a big empire from any position," and his foot is already firmly in the door.

Specialists in energy fields such as strip mining, offshore oil and gas drilling, natural gas, and the likes have been anticipating major legislative gains under Carter. The twice-vetoed strip mine bill, designed to reduce environmental damage, has been endorsed by the President. (See accompanying story.)

Protective legislation for the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) is also expected to have smooth sailing, especially in the light of the rash of oil spills in rivers and coastal areas. (See Page 14.)

Yet even without the Schlesinger problem, Carter-watchers are not counting any unhatched chickens. "There are people on Carter's staff," said one environmentalist at a recent conference, "who will be feeding him incorrect information and who couldn't care less" about envi-

ronmental concerns. Frank Moore, the White House congressional liaison, was called "totally responsive" to pro-strip mining interests. Furthermore, Carter himself has expressed support for more reliance on coal to reduce oil imports. Such a position can easily be pushed to the detriment of environmental and other progressive concerns.

►A nuclear friend.

The beleaguered nuclear power industry, on the defensive nationwide, now has a friend at court in Schlesinger. Industry representative Craig Hosmer would say only that Schlesinger was "firm, fair, and decisive," but Richard Pollock of Nader's Critical Mass said the reactor builders were "ecstatic" over having a former Atomic Energy Commission chief in charge of nuclear power. Pollock termed Schlesinger a "vigorous supporter" of nuclear energy who has been in disagreement with Carter's stated position in the area in nearly every case.

On the volatile and hard-fought energy issues, combatants generally are adopting a wait-and-see attitude, but keeping their forces standing by for instant mobilization. Said one public interest group representative, "We're not going to get anything we don't push like hell on."

Stripmining Is Like Death, Few Are Spared When It Comes

"Energy, land, coal, strip mining, reclamation," are more than terms that fill the pages of debates over energy policy; they have their human component, their implications in the lives of thousands of people. In *These Times* asked freelance correspondent David Morris of Beckley, West Virginia, to describe a little of that meaning.

By David Morris

"...but look at that big machine go took that shady grove a long time to grow

They can rip it out with one whack But they can't put it back..."

—*They Can't Put It Back, Mike Kline Dillion Run Records*

For the Boones, the strip mining of their land was a slow cancer. First there were the strangers on their land in Jeep Cherokees and Chevy Blazers. Then the lawyers came and talked about money. The word got out and the family was divided about taking the money. The old homeplace didn't bring in enough to pay for the pickup truck and keeping up with the new appliances, but with social security, they were getting by and most of the kids were away, anyhow.

The Adamsons down below sold and moved away, so the strip miners started down there, "peeling the land like an apple." The trucks roared up and down the narrow road that eventually led to town and now there was something else to dodge besides the potholes. In summer, the dust from the trucks rose in high plumes; and there was always the sound of the 'dozer and the trucks. It had always been quiet, it was a good place to be alone, on the farm, and now there was the

noise of machinery from six in the morning til late at night.

When there wasn't much left of the Adams' farm, the company men started swarming around the Boones'. They'd stripped right up to the fence and now everyone knew the coal seam ran rich under the farm. James and Sally had to make up their minds: they could sell or hold tight. They decided to stay. Fortunately, in West Virginia, the consent of the surface landholder—in this case, the Boones—had to be obtained. (In East Kentucky, most of the coal and other mineral rights are owned by large corporations who purchased the mineral rights through a device known as the "broad-from deed." This entitled the deedholder to all minerals under the surface no matter what happened to the land above it.)

►Community spirit to fight.

In some case, people like the Boones would ultimately give in to the pressure from relatives and the coal corporation representatives, but in others, as in Richmond District of Raleigh County, there was still enough community spirit and pride to fight back. Here they formed a community club and an anti-stripmining group. They shared information about who the coal company representatives were talking to and what they were offering. They recruited volunteers to help them with the tremendous amount of legal work involved with fighting the West Virginia Department of Natural Resources, which had granted strip mining permits to the White Ridge Coal Company of New York (which in turn is owned by a Dutch investment group).

Hiring a lawyer, bringing the press into Richmond District to build up public support, educating themselves about the tactics of resistance—it was a lot of work. Weekly meetings, trips, weenie roasts to raise money, long talks with those who were under the tremendous pressure to sell and get out, all took time and energy. But the alternative was worse.

No matter how long it takes for the Caterpillar bulldozer to come on the land, once the stripping begins, it is a tragic sight. In these hills, there is little flat land, so the first weeks are spent leveling. Trees are

pushed down into crevices. Then the 'dozer attacks the soil directly, pushing the topsoil over the trees and then the bottom layers of clay over the topsoil, which is lost forever.

Each farm here in the Appalachian mountains is the result of several generations of clearing the land, cutting trees, removing rocks and stumps and then enriching the soil. Within weeks, all this and whatever houses or graveyards are in the way find a common burial place. Finally the black vein of coal is reached. The large trucks pick their way up to the vein on the makeshift road dozed out to help make a path from the strip mine to the C&O coal cars waiting for another load.

►Silence—dead silence—again.

Once the vein is fully stripped, the dozer and trucks leave. There's silence again. Water collects and then erodes the piles of dirt and trees. Public outcry has forced the "surface Mining Association" and the Department of Natural Resources to profess concern for "reclamation." Hydrosprayers occasionally come to spray grass seed on the piles of soil and trees, but the rate of success is not high, since usually the covering soil is clay.

Strip mining is like death; once the strip miners converge, few are spared. A poet in central West Virginia moved to the old homeplace only to find that a coal company that owned over 10,000 strippable acres was busy destroying the county. In Ohio the "GEM of Egypt," a ten-story high steam shovel has eaten its way through one county and stopped traffic for a day on I-70 while it crossed to begin devouring a second county. In East Kentucky and south-western Virginia the process of strip mining is so far advanced that whole sections of land look like the moon. In Wise County, Virginia, the stripping has gone so far that people are beginning to wonder if they won't have to move the county seat to some other county.

And yet there is no effective legislation to stop this rape of the land and the communities of the mountains. President Ford vetoed what was actually a very weak bill as being an infringement on the right of coal companies to do whatever

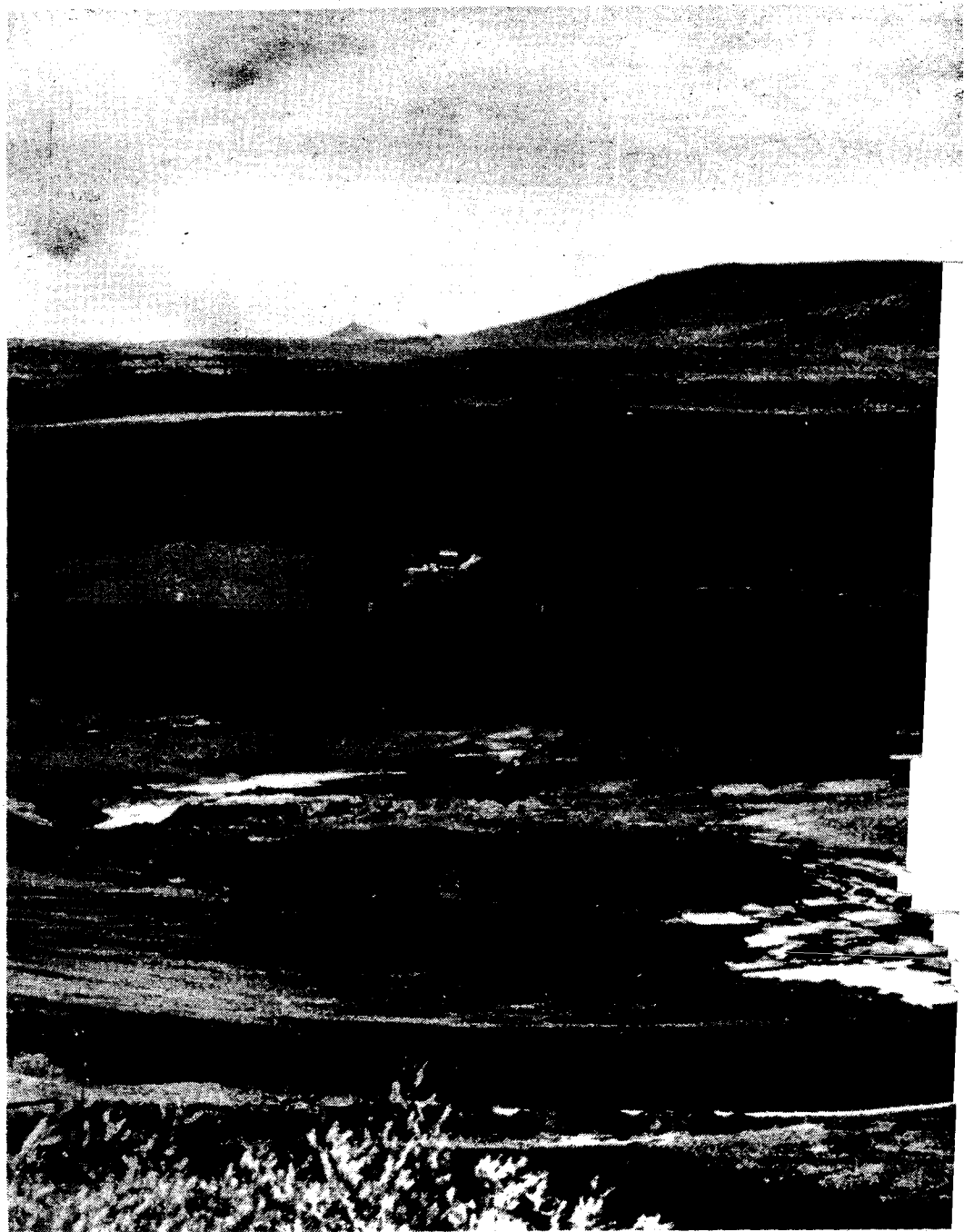
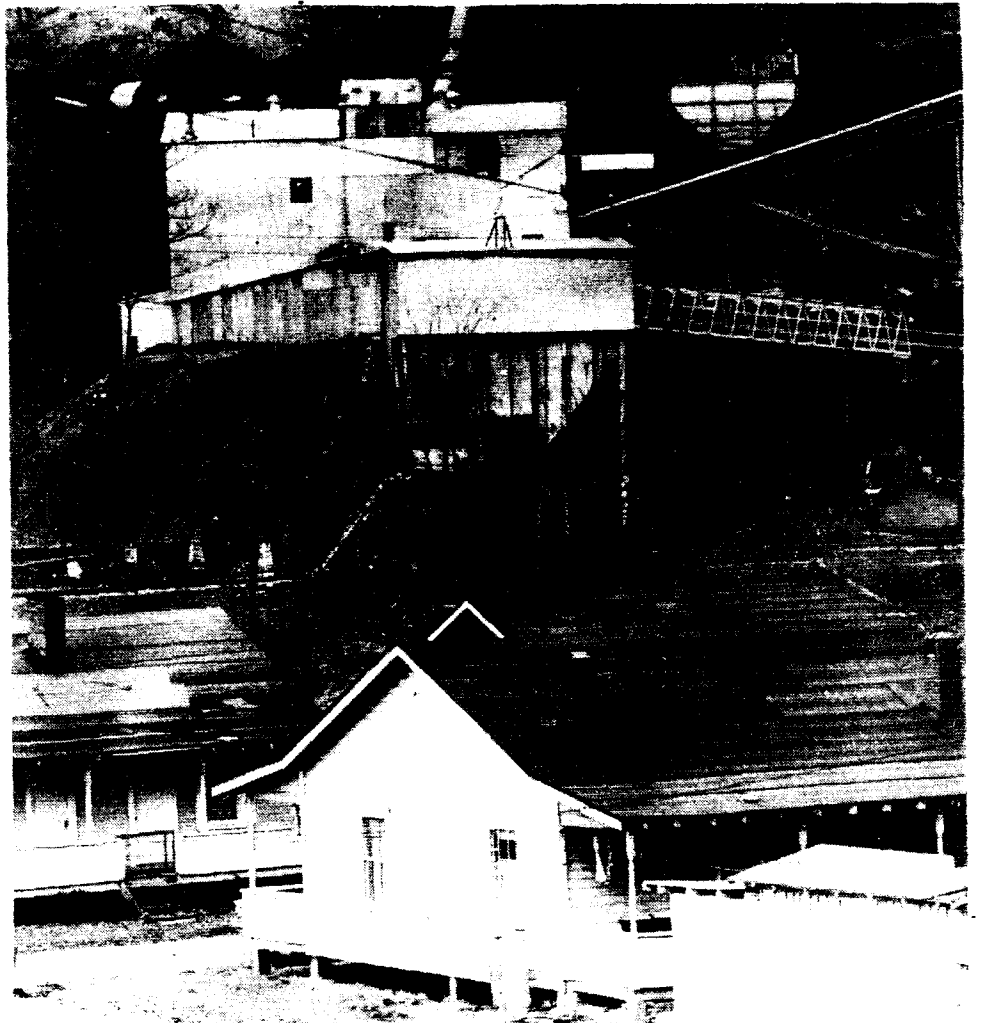


Photo by Paul Sequeira

Photo by Cinde Hart/LNS



In the rush to develop domestic energy resources, there is a very great danger that vast areas of the country, particularly in Appalachia and in the West, will be turned into vast, uninhabitable energy reservoirs. Careless stripping away of land to get at the coal underneath will leave a landscape reminiscent of the barren moon.

they pleased. The "Energy Crisis" discussion, carried on by scholars and the press, usually ends with a statement calling for doubled and tripled coal production.

The coal is there, the largest high quality fields in the world. With proper mining techniques and a priority given to the life and work of the deep-miner, there could be enough coal and jobs for everyone. But it's more profitable to strip mine—in the short run. What does it gain a person or a nation—if electricity is produced but the soul of the people is lost?

David Morris lives and writes in West Virginia.

Only A Majority Needed Now For Stripmining Bill

After three years of sustained legislative effort, a strip mine regulatory bill is expected to be on President Carter's desk by mid-summer.

Two other strip mine bills died after completing the laborious journey through the national legislature. Former President Ford pocket vetoed one version, stating that it was too restrictive. Ford did not indicate at that time, however, that with moderating amendments he would sign the measure.

But when an amended version was developed and passed through Congress in June 1975, Ford also vetoed it, after an intensive lobbying effort from the coal industry.

President Carter, on the other hand, has expressed his support for the original stronger bill. Sponsoring legislators also intend to push for restoration of stricter regulatory measures, and they see no reason to settle for compromises.

"We used to have to think about a veto-proof margin, a two-thirds majority," said one aide. "Now, it's a simple 50 per-

cent plus one." Ninety-six Republicans voted to override Ford's veto in 1975, demonstrating broad bipartisan backing.

Supporters are expected to press hard on issues of restoration of stripped lands back to their original state and for a non-strip policy if adequate restoration is impossible or other serious environmental damage would result.

Yet there is no shortage of potential traps, seen and unseen. Carter's commitment to strip mine legislation is considered genuine by many environmentalists, but many appointments, notably James Schlesinger as White House energy adviser, are alarming. "The strippers have insiders" in the Carter administration, cautioned one Appalachian organizer, "and Carter is obviously terrified of ruffling the coal industry—or any industry for that matter."

But aside from the healthy skepticism, sponsors show the most optimism in years for getting a strip mine regulatory law finally onto the books. It would be a "sad reflection on Congress if this bill didn't get through stronger than what they sent to a Republican President," said Jack Doyle of the Environmental Policy Center in Washington. "It'll show how committed the Democrats are to protecting the citizens."

—Tim Frasca

Coal Leases: Secretive, Unplanned And Unlimited Giveaways

By Tom Powers

Missoula, Mont. Given past congressional actions and the Carter campaign commitments, a strong federal strip mining law seems almost a certainty this year. But

the Northern Great Plains are not breathing any sighs of relief.

Citizen groups trying to protect the area see federal coal leasing policy as far more important than federal strip mining legislation. Most western states already have strong strip mining laws, and under pressure from the state of Wyoming and the federal courts, the Department of Interior (DOI) has agreed to accept the state laws as applicable and enforceable on federal lands. (It will of course be up to DOI field offices to see that this happens.)

But even strict enforcement of a strict new federal law will not fundamentally affect the direction or extent of coal development so long as federal coal leasing policies continue to be the secretive, unplanned and unlimited giveaways of the past and present. The major tool for the control and planning of coal development—so as to minimize social and environmental damage—is federal leasing policy. Such policy, through the payments the energy companies have to make to mine publicly owned coal, could, theoretically, also take for public use the windfall, monopoly profits energy companies are now earning.

►A give-away program.

Until two years ago, the DOI literally gave energy companies whatever public lands they wished. As a result, today there are far more acres of federal coal land leased, but not currently being developed than there are acres actually producing coal.

The increasing irrationality of this policy led to a two-year moratorium on federal coal leasing activity. During this period Interior Secretary Kleppe issued a new set of leasing procedures. One of his primary goals in this was heading off any congressional legislation that might dictate even stricter controls on leasing. The new regulations leave citizens as much in the dark as previously. Developers are given a guarantee of confidentiality regarding their plans. The public is thus unable to get the information necessary for any concerted response.

What citizen and environmental groups in the area see as fundamentally necessary is to extend the leasing moratorium long enough for the new Interior

secretary, Cecil Andrus, to backtrack and get an overview of the chaos and irrationality that has characterized federal leasing over the last eight years. Such a pause is also needed if Andrus is going to head off the bureaucratic momentum of a department that for eight years has promoted the coal industry and encouraged the increasing shift in that industry from Appalachia and the Midwest to the Northern Great Plains.

►Monopolization and union busting.

The energy industry's interest in leasing low sulphur western coal is not just tied to its search for ways to avoid investing in pollution control equipment. It is a competitive attempt to see that this energy resource does not fall under the control of rivals (in a way that would reduce present control of the energy market) or get developed by public agencies.

An additional motive for abandoning coal production in Appalachia and the Midwest is the organizational strength of the United Mine Workers. Western strip mining is carried out by extremely capital intensive methods and uses workers from the construction unions (e.g., operating engineers), which are not known for either their strength or militancy. The energy companies thus trade higher transportation costs for even lower labor costs.

Andrus, about whom many environmentalists are cautiously optimistic, may not be the person in Carter's cabinet who deals with the coal and strip mining issue. Carter's reorganization plan involves shifting the energy aspects of the Bureau of Land Management out of the DOI into an energy agency headed by James Schlesinger. This scares the hell out of environmentalists, given Schlesinger's bad record on energy development.

Which person will direct federal energy efforts in the West may well be determined by the struggle between the strong economic forces wishing to still further rationalize and streamline the government's participation in the economy and those progressive forces who wish to fundamentally change the goals of government's participation.

Tom Powers teaches economics at the University of Montana.

In The Race For Offshore Oil New Bill Would Define Some Limits

By Tim Frasca
Washington Bureau

The race is on for offshore oil. Stimulated by government policy to achieve fuel self-sufficiency, the energy industries are preparing to invest billions of dollars to find and produce oil and gas located underwater on the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS). The question is no longer whether to develop offshore oil and gas, but how it is to be done and how the revenues will be divided.

The issue is certain to arise early in the Carter administration. A bill modernizing the leasing of federal offshore lands for oil and gas exploration passed both houses of Congress during the last session, but was bottled up in a parliamentary maneuver just before adjournment. The bill, strongly opposed by gas and oil interests and the Ford administration, is expected to be reconsidered soon. Its supporters expect help from the new administration.

The House committee that reported the bill called for a new, more detailed law because previous legislation, passed in 1953, provided "essentially an open-ended grant of authority to the Secretary of Interior to proceed with leasing on the Outer Continental Shelf ... based on what was, in 1954, an unproven technology, and on expectations that offshore production would be a relatively small supplement to the continued reliance on production from onshore fields."

"The situation," the report continues, "has changed dramatically. Now, according to U.S. Geological Survey estimates, fully one-third of the nation's discoverable oil reserves are offshore, as is 22 percent of our natural gas deposits...."

Supporters of strong new legislation feel that the loose regulations, coupled with an Interior department more receptive to gas and oil interests than to environmental or public concerns has led to significant mismanagement of offshore resources, as well as to their domination by a few giant oil companies.

The new bill would have made several significant changes in leasing provisions, including:

- A requirement that the Interior secretary develop a comprehensive five-year plan for areas where leasing is to be carried out, and that no leases be awarded outside of areas where plans have been developed;
- Consultation with the governors of states bordering leased areas in which the governors and appropriate regional commissions would have substantial veto power over leasing provisions.
- Permission of citizen suits in federal court by persons who are or could be adversely affected by violations of the act's provisions.
- Provision for review by the Attorney General and the Federal Trade Commission of proposed leases, requiring hearings if it were believed that the lease would have anticompetitive effects.

Energy & Environment

Why would industries fight to retain a system that requires them to advance millions of dollars at the "front end" of a years-long exploration and development process?

- Six new methods of accepting bids to the two currently allowed, mandating that they be used in at least one-third of the leases in each of the next five years.
- Award of leases for only five years with the possibility of a five-year extension.
- Prohibition of leases or their extension to companies that were found not to be producing with due diligence.
- Prohibition of joint bidding for leases by major oil companies, although a minor company might jointly bid with a major.
- Lessees to provide all pertinent data to the Interior secretary and through him to the states concerned.
- The Interior department to engage in exploratory drilling in areas to be leased prior to awarding of leases to determine as best as possible their actual worth.

The energy industry and the Ford administration lobbied heavily against the bill, spotlighting what they claimed were 45 additional steps in the leasing/production process that the bill would introduce. They said that the new requirements would add two years to the already extensive lead time involved in offshore leasing and production.

Supporters of the bill disagreed. One environmental organization pointed out that all but three of the 45 steps are al-

ready on the books as departmental regulations. The new law will "clarify administrative practices and very possibly speed up development," said Carla Kirsch who works for the House Energy and Environment Subcommittee.

Another environmental group, the Energy Action Committee, claims that the bill's requirement for swift action by lease winners would prevent companies from sitting on areas they've leased in expectation of higher prices in the future. The industry, of course, denies that such speculation occurs.

According to one source who worked on the bill, however, the industry's real gripe is the challenge to bidding procedures, the so-called "front end bonus" system. Under this method, oil companies bid a fixed dollar amount, plus a stand-

ard royalty, for the right to explore and develop a lease area. When a bidder wins, the company plunks down the entire amount, often millions of dollars, right then and there.

►Why advance millions?

Why would industries fight to retain a system that requires them to advance millions of dollars at the "front end" of a years-long exploration and development process? Would it not be more profitable under a royalty or profit-sharing system tied to the time of actual flow of oil from the lease area?

Very likely, said one committee aide, but what's lost in short-term profits is gained in virtual monopoly control of offshore oil by the major oil firms. The enormous sums of up front cash needed to compete for leases effectively shuts out all but the industry giants.

For example, Exxon's total bids for tracts in the last OCS sale in August 1976 amounted to \$730 million, which swamped even the other majors. Exxon won \$343 million of its bids and left the entire amount with the Interior department that same day—money it cannot expect to make back for many years.

►The Seven Sisters like it.

"Only the Seven Sisters (seven largest oil

companies that dominate the market) can sustain outlays of that magnitude," said one congressional researcher. "It's expensive, but they maintain their market position, and that's absolutely primary."

Under the present system the lease's price is "set without the full knowledge of the value of oil and gas in the area," says the House committee's staff report. In another controversial measure, last year's bill required the Interior secretary to contract government exploration at least once in every proposed leasing area so that the government would have a better idea of the leases' value. This provision disturbed enough members to delay the entire measure, say congressional sources.

How much profit the companies expect is naturally a subject of much dispute. While the industry claims a return of around 7 percent per year, Rep. John Murphy (D-N.Y.), who chaired the House committee, puts the figure much higher. Murphy said in a letter to the *Wall Street Journal* that Shell and Standard Oil of California, for instance, are expecting a 25-30 percent return on their offshore leases.

►Money well spent.

Income figures for leases bought in late 1970 show that the \$847 million invested for them was money "well spent," says the *Oil and Gas Journal*, a trade publication. The operators, say the magazine, have put out \$1.7 billion on lease cash bonuses and development costs and have made back \$1.2 billion after royalties in only three years of actual production. With revenues pouring in at the rate of \$740 million a year (1975), the investment should "pay out" satisfactorily.

Supporters of new offshore legislation are optimistic about its passage. They won last year by wide margins in both houses and this year they believe they will not face a hostile administration and a possible veto. Cecil Andrus, the new Interior secretary, is also thought to be more responsive to stricter controls over offshore leasing than previous secretaries have been. They are worried about the possibility of James Schlesinger taking over authority for offshore affairs, but, even so, believe that new legislation will make a big difference in curbing the anarchy that has been prevalent in recent years.

Natural Gas

Continued from page 11.

The oil companies are using the invaluable experience acquired during the gasoline "shortage"...

which has kept the price of gas low at the same time that other forms of energy have skyrocketed and have waged constant battles since the '50s to end government regulation of the industry.

They have already achieved "deregulation" in Texas, so we have a fairly good picture of what it can mean. Gas produced and sold inside the borders of Texas goes for two to four times the interstate price.

Abandoning the normal business of persuasion and corruption, the oil companies are using the invaluable experience acquired during the gasoline "shortage" when supplies were withheld from key (read politically influential) markets. In the midst of the harshest winter in many years, pipelines all over the country cut the amounts of gas local utilities could buy, claiming that avail-

able supplies were inadequate. While investigation might prove that assertion as reliable as a campaign promise—only the gas industry has access to figures relating to production and reserves—local companies could do nothing during the emergency but curtail deliveries to customers who could get by without gas.

►Greed by another name...

Meanwhile, Congress is being pressured by gas and oil lobbyists and their friends within to pass "deregulation" measures so that the "gas can flow" once again.

This is all an open and brazen chicane designed to enrich the oil companies at the public's expense. Everyone admits, including the oil and gas companies, that it is not a question of the lack of gas; the price simply isn't right and they are holding out.

Here in Georgia, the oil men tried to do this once before with propane bottle gas. Our governor found out about it and blew the whistle before the damage had become irreparable. He saved thousands of farmers and rural people from misery and economic hardship by his quick and principled action at that time.

That governor is now President and has persuaded Congress to pass an emergency allocation measure providing for some "deregulation" in order to shift available supplies of gas to areas of greatest need.

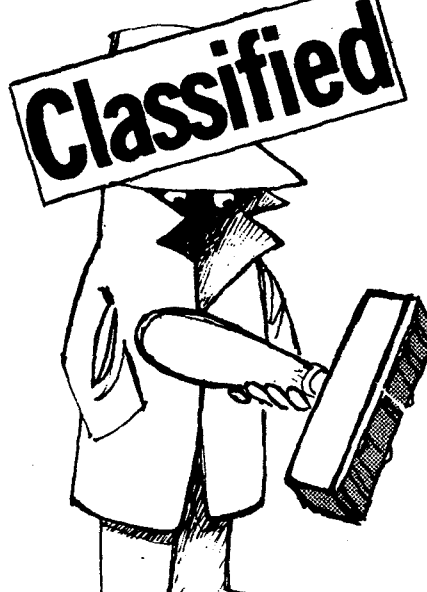
Whether this measure is the first step toward a full "deregulation" remains to be seen as Congress prepared to dis-

cuss the issue over the next few months. President Carter has pledged to have his own energy proposals before the Congress by April 20. We may soon learn a

lot about the office and the man who now occupies it.

Neill Herring lives and writes in Atlanta.

Classified



Personals

WANTED: Inside info for a radical guide to music business ripoffs in the New Age. Confidential. Daemon Running Dog, Box 1247, Berkeley, CA 94701.

For Rent

SPACIOUS 7-ROOM APARTMENT in colorful, ethnic, Chicago neighborhood. Ideal for studio or offices. Inquire 489-4444, 9 a.m.-5 p.m.

Jobs Offered

NOTICE TO CHICAGO READERS: We have distributors around the USA, but none in Chicago. We need distributors to get *IN THESE TIMES* in bookstores on the North side, in Hyde Park, and onto Chicago area campuses. Now's your chance to help spread our socialist word in *IN THESE TIMES* home town. Payment by commission. Call Torie Osborn, 489-4444.

New Midwest institute seeks unselfish, socially-conscious non-careerist, MA-PhD MOVEMENT fund-raisers. Prefer economists, political scientists, etc. Semi-scholarly studies on war-peace reconversion, etc. Applicants must READ Gross and Osterman "The New Professionals" pp 33-37, Studs Terkel "Working" pp 525-527, 537-540, Claudia Dreifus "Radical Lifestyles," and address themselves to the contents of this advertisement. Midwest Institute, 1206 N. 6th St., 43201.

For Sale

IN THESE TIMES T-shirts for sale; \$5.00, five for \$20.00. Don't delay folks, we're sure they'll disappear fast. Specify S, M, L, XL.

JEWISH CURRENTS February issue (Black History Month). "Jewish Question and the Holocaust" by Bruno Frei, Austrian Marxist; "The Front" reviewed by David Platt; "Two Different Southerners" by Arnold Shankman and Marion A. Wright; "40th Anniversary of Spanish Vets" by Albert Prago, Vet; Editorial: "Moscow Jewish Symposium"; News, Reviews, "Editor's Diary" by Morris U. Schappes. Single copies 60¢; Subscriptions \$7.50 yearly USA. *JEWISH CURRENTS*, Dept T, 22 East 17 St., N.Y.C. 10003.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS

Football fantasy and class conflict

By Jack Russell

A week before the ceremonies installing True Grits as General Manager of the Big Team, one third of the American people watched Minnesota and Oakland do battle on Super Sunday. To no one's surprise, a dull, one-sided Super Bowl out-drew the inauguration at least two-to-one. For most Americans, the game promised more drama than the formal transfer of state power.

During the past 20 years, Football has become the national game. The combined gross income of all 28 National Football League franchises would place the enterprise 650th on *Fortune's* list, but mere dollars cannot measure the presence of the game in our national life. Millions of folks invest the best hours of their week watching football. For a third of the year, from Friday afternoon to Monday evening, for fathers and sons and lovers and mothers, some version of the game is there.

Our leaders understand. Demagogues seek association with football's demigods. The language of the sport has become commonplace in the rhetoric of bourgeois politics. John Mitchell's game plan for the 1968 Nixon campaign once included Vince Lombardi as running mate.

What kind of game is this, and how should we understand its immense appeal? Many condemn the sport in terms reminiscent of Edward II's denunciation of its English antecedent. The Monarch forbade "footeballe, wherein is nothing but beastlie furie and extreme violence." (He had good reasons. The commoners' delight in the game interfered with longbow practice!) Since we can't proscribe modern football, we'd best comprehend its popularity.

► The "official culture" is conservative.

Let me grant from the jump that the "official culture" that surrounds the sport is regressive. It's conservative. The anthem is played before contests. Neanderthal patriotism dominates half-time shows. Military metaphors abound in the game's argot. "Official football" exudes unctuous compassion. The Fellowship of Christian Athletes boasts college and pro stars. The charity spots on N.F.L. telecasts hype the United Fund. Sycophantic civic leaders (called "jock sniffers" by some pros) enlist the athletes' support. The game is a bastion of the worst sexist stereotypes. Nine-year-old girls are organized to cheerlead for their shoulderpadded Pop Warner League brothers. The first woman hired to cover the game on national TV had to be, you guessed it, a Miss America from Texas.

Reactionaries love to wallow in this muck. "It's no accident," wrote Nixon-era St. Louis linebacker Dave Meggysey, "that the most repressive political regime in the history of this country is ruled by a football freak." True, all true.

But not all who love the game are Yahoos. The popularity of football, especially the pro game, should not be seen as a festival of jingoism, some orgy of repressive desublimation. Millions of fans are former high school players for whom the game provides a powerful link with past satisfactions. For many of us football was a rite of passage into the adult world. One learned the rewards of courage and sustained effort. During those autumns of our adolescence countless American men reached peak physical condition for the first time and the last, discovering for a few years the joys of full health before the burdens of work and family began to weigh on the flesh. There was fraternity in the sport, a bond of loyalty in the intricate teamwork, and elation in our collective effort. For legions

in today's audience, good memories are evoked by Sunday's game.

► It's also beautiful.

Football can also be beautiful. Offensive design and defensive reaction explode at each other almost simultaneously. Backfield, line, and secondary patterns unfold in a dazzling, violent choreography. Although each play lasts but a few seconds, television's presentation of the game has become so accomplished we can now savor in minute detail the individual contests that make the battle. Slow motion instant replay reveals the covert holding of pass blocker on hard-charging and the flanker's juke that froze the hapless cornerback.

Such goodies are now essential to the success of football-as-commodity. A game of 60 minutes contains perhaps 12 minutes of actual play, but is packaged in a three-hour segment of TV time. You can't endlessly broadcast teams regrouping, balls retrieved, and faces in the crowd. The new techniques that elaborate the action fill the pauses, sustain our attention, and keep us tuned when it's time to sell the Fords. We love it. To assure sell-outs, new stadiums now have giant screens for "live" instant replay. And commercials.

Whatever place patriotism, nostalgia and aesthetics may have in the bond between game and audience, these aspects of football's appeal can not fully explain its following. Even with the end of local TV blackouts, N.F.L. teams still play to near capacity; on any given Sunday, 17 million or more viewing households are plugged in. When so many watch, we must assume the game somehow embodies daily experience, dramatizing and clarifying the fan's comprehension of society and his position in it. But how?

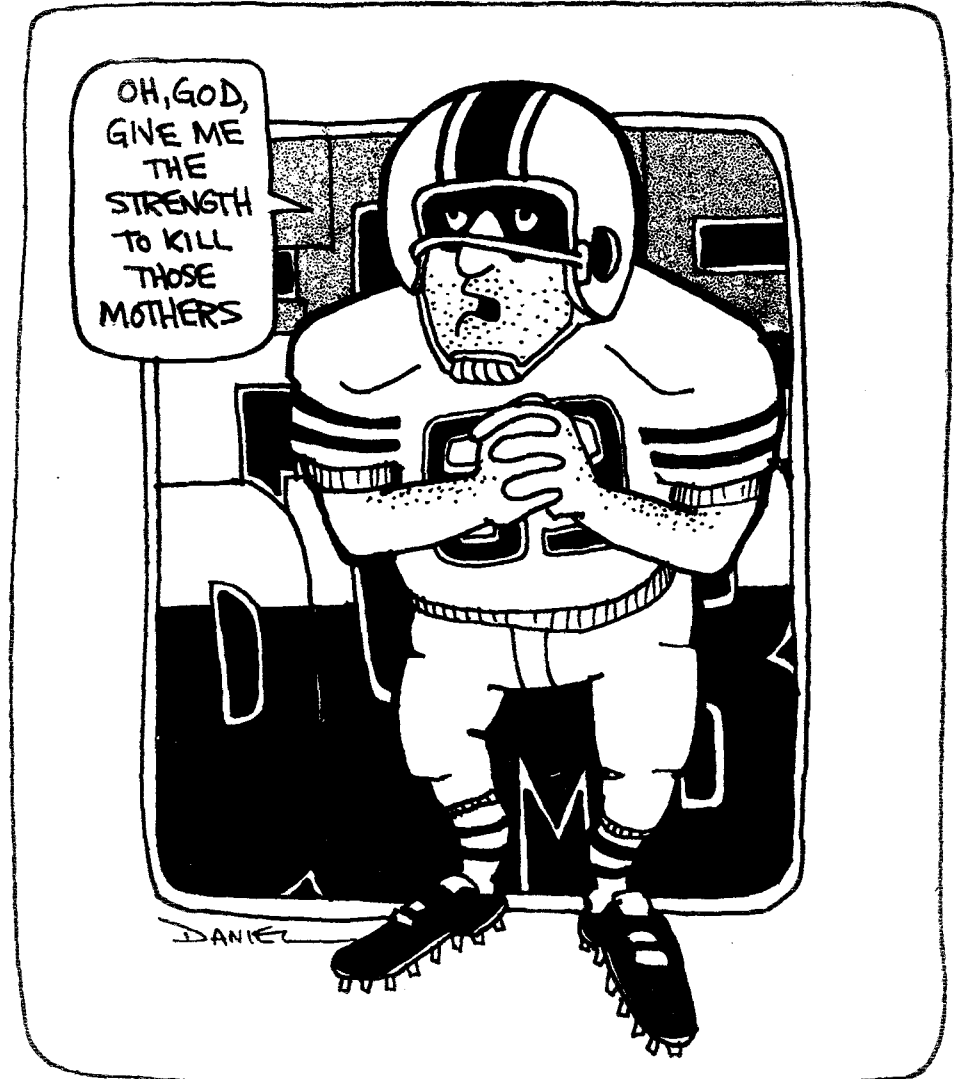
► Who consumes and why?

Pro football is consumed by two major groups: the professional/managerial types who can afford the stadium tickets and are the target audience for national telecast sponsors (airlines, car rentals, credit cards, insurance) and the working class males who swell the ratings and buy the beer, gas and cars advertised on the local broadcasts. How does each experience the game?

The executives identify with the offense. They see a contest in which territory is conquered by a series of carefully executed and integrated maneuvers under the firm control of the quarterback and coach. Both the development of a club and the implementation of a specific game plan are discussed as problems of proper corporate management. Working class dudes, on the other hand, dig defense, in which the collective object of smashing the offensive design still allows room for individual stunts. On defense, strength and toughness are especially celebrated, never more so than when laying a big hit on the managerial quarterback, who is almost invariably WASP (only one black, one Chicano and three "ethnics" among this season's 28 starters).

When teams tend to take on some characteristics of the cities they represent, and these qualities are combined with the class oppositions I've suggested in the game's design, contests with the force of a morality play can result. Take Super Bowl X between the Dallas Cowboys and the Pittsburgh Steelers. The Dallas team, owned by oil and banking money, was known for its complex offensive sets, highly rationalized corporate organization, austere Head Coach Tom Landry, and the field leadership of Annapolis trained superpatriot quarterback Roger Staubach.

The Steelers, in contrast, were owned by a stogy-smoking Irish Catholic patri-



arch who made his money on the horses. The team's personality was established by the magnificent defense that featured four black linesmen, fabled cop fighter Ernie Holmes among them, three white linebackers, including Irish and Polish lads native to the region, and a secondary anchored by a black All-Pro who shaved his head and wore a gold earring.

That great game symbolically pitted the corporate elite of the Sunbelt against the motley working class of the industrial

heartland. When Cowboy quarterback Staubach was creamed by Steeler Ernie Holmes, the errant pass picked off by Polish Jack Ham set up a score by Afro-Italian Franco Harris. At that moment, what submerged politics may have been expressed by the gloom in suburban Dallas livingrooms and the joy in steeltown bars along the Monongahela?

Jack Russell lives in Detroit and writes regularly on sports for *In These Times*.

LANGUAGE

E's gone and invented a non-sexist pronoun, blimey

A linguistics psychologist is a person who studies the effects of language on consciousness. "E" might do this to learn more effective methods of social control, to stimulate social progress or simply for "es" own intrinsic satisfaction.

Donald G. Mackey teaches psycholinguistics at UCLA. He studies it under various grants including one from the National Institute for Mental Health. He ("a male person") is the inventor of a new word in the English language. Not just any word either, but a pronoun. One of those elite "closed class" of noun substitutes that includes I, we, he, she and they. The word is "E." It means he or she and is parallel in structure to the capitalized "I."

For a number of years now writers and publishers have been rejecting the generic "he" as any kind of a substitute for he or she. "He" does not even pass the test of universal application. "While the doctor does his level best for suffering humanity, his nurse won't try her hardest and his secretary hardly does any of her work at all." A clear case of vocational word-use discrimination.

If we say the doctor does his or her level best, we may again be producing a sex bias by the placement of his before her. If we try alternation we come up with sentences like: "If the doctor thinks that

she or he is better than us, then he or she has her or his head up his or her ass." Sounds like a lot of heads and asses. Now try this: "If the doctor thinks E is better than us, E has Es head up Es ass."

Mackey's is not the first attempt to find the elusive word. Other attempts have included nan, herm, himmer, ver, co, tem, (s)he and shuhe.

But Mackey thinks that E meets certain basic criteria that linguists agree are necessary for a new word to find acceptance in the language. First, of course, there is a recognized need in the search for non-sexist language.

Then there are structural criteria. E is a vowel we're all familiar with, a kind of friendly and distinctive letter as far as letters go. It is non-ambiguous, that is, it won't be confused with other words.

E also maintains an intimate relationship to she (delete sh-) and he (delete h-) and, unlike s(he) has a distinct identity both in verbal and written form.

So if you have a concern for the development of a non-sexist lexicon and enough basic verbal skill to use slang; to get toasted, wasted or slayed on dubbies, bombers or sticks of herb, then by God in all es glory, you could also use this word.

—David Helvarg



Photo by Rachelle Resnick

Tenants win in San Francisco

For almost a decade the elderly residents of the International Hotel have resisted efforts to move them out.

By Chester Hartman

San Francisco. The International Hotel, a 150-unit low-rent building in San Francisco's Manilatown-Chinatown district, has become the focus of intense political activity in this city. In early January several hundred persons, hastily assembled via telephone tree, blocked sheriff's deputies from posting an eviction order. Demonstrations on Jan. 12 and 16—the first with 3,000 people, the second with 5,000—have demanded that the courts stay or rescind an eviction order obtained by the hotel's owner, Four Seas Investment Corp., a Bangkok-based liquor producer sinking its capital into American real estate. The city's liberal sheriff, Richard Hongisto, at first refused to carry out the court's eviction order. As a result he was given a five-day jail sentence and \$500 fine for contempt of court which he is appealing. Judge Ira Brown termed Hongisto's refusal "the greatest threat to every court in this country." But the city's governing Board of Supervisors has reluctantly voted to loan \$1.3 million to the Housing Authority to take the hotel by eminent domain and resell it to the tenants for permanent low-rent housing.

Things came to a head on Jan. 17. Reliable sources within the sheriff's office indicated he was ready to move on the hotel at 6 a.m. the next morning. Threatened with the real possibility of being removed from office for his contempt conviction, Hongisto had decided to go ahead and evict the 75 mainly elderly Filipino and Chinese residents.

The police department was scheduled to move in around midnight and block off the entire area to prevent the expected thousands of protestors from getting near the hotel. All eyes were focused on the courts, where furious legal maneuvers were underway. The Hotel Tenants Association, the Housing Authority and Hongisto were all filing motions in Superior Court, Appeals Court and the California Supreme Court to have the eviction stayed.

The sheriff was reiterating his claim

that his deputies were too few and lacked sufficient training to carry out this mass eviction in the face of throngs of militant supporters.

The Housing Authority and hotel tenants were claiming that eviction was senseless, since the city had come up with a way to save the hotel, via purchase by the Housing Authority.

But Judge Brown was standing firm. He has contempt of his own both for the tenants and the sheriff (who not long ago had infuriated the San Francisco bench by publicly accusing them of not working hard enough). He felt the dignity and the authority of the court's order had to be upheld, and was unmoved by the actions of the Board of Supervisors and Housing Authority. These were being challenged in another court by Four Seas, and although a hearing was just two weeks off Brown was insisting the eviction proceed.

At 6 p.m., just 12 hours before the scheduled eviction, Brown finally granted a stay. The reason he gave was an affidavit filed by Chief of Police Charles Gain asserting that automatic weapons and firebombs had been reported at the hotel.

No one with knowledge of the hotel's supporters believes there is a shred of truth to Gain's assertion, and a few days later the police chief backed away from his statement. But Brown needed a face-saver. According to sources close to the case, the Appeals Court had urged him to ease up, and city officials from the mayor on down simply did not want to risk an eviction. It would have been the most unpopular and possibly bloody police action in San Francisco since the 1934 General Strike.

Why has the I-Hotel become such a rallying point? In part, the hotel and its community are a symbol of resistance to the city's development as "Wall Street West" over the past two and a half decades.

The hotel's population is Third World, low-income elderly. Their \$50-85 a month rooms are all they can afford, and the hotel is partly a communal home, with a

common kitchen and the mutual support system such micro-communities provide. And it is located right next to the stores, parks and community facilities of Manilatown and Chinatown. It and its community are not replaceable.

But because it also adjoins the expanding financial district, the hotel-site has been an attractive development parcel for years. The battle over the hotel dates back almost a decade. First it was Walter Shorenstein, a local real estate mogul, Democratic party heavy and city parks and recreation commissioner, who bought the hotel and tried to evict its residents in 1968. They resisted and embarrassed him into giving them a three-year lease.

In 1973 Shorenstein sold the hotel to Four Seas for \$850,000, and they've been trying to get the tenants out ever since. An eviction trial was finally held last April, with Judge Brown directing the deadlocked jury to find against the tenants.

The long struggle has made the hotel well known throughout the city, enabling the tenants to forge a city-wide support group and to pull together the city's largest protest demonstrations since the Vietnam war. As an almost pure form of the battle between housing/human rights and profit/property rights, old and young of all races have turned out in support of human rights. The city has not seen anything like this in recent times, and its rulers are scared as hell. Passage of Proposition T last November, calling for elections of Supervisors by districts instead of at-large, indicates the possibility of a whole new ballgame in San Francisco.

Things are now in a holding pattern. Judge Brown's eviction stay is good until March 4, and if the eminent domain taking goes ahead, it will supercede the eviction order. In the interim the Housing Authority and Four Seas will be fighting the legality of the eminent domain action. That trial was scheduled for Feb. 1 but, according to reports, Four Seas will ask for a continuance to try to pull together a better case.

If the courts uphold the eminent domain, there still will be further court battles over the taking price. The Housing Authority's \$1.3 million figure is based on two outside appraisals, but Four Seas doubtless will try to squeeze more out of the city, even though that price would represent a 53 percent profit.

Even if the eviction hurdle is finally passed, the tenants will have other problems: how to buy the building back from the Housing Authority—at the inflated price that includes Four Seas' fat profit—how to make necessary repairs, and still keep rents low enough so they can afford to stay. Unless some kind of assistance is found, the tenants may be getting a white elephant.

The building could be sold to the tenants at a marked-down price. (The government does this all the time under the urban renewal program — but that's only for needy shopping center developers, corporations wanting new headquarters, and similar worthy causes.)

Or the Housing Authority could retain ownership of the hotel and allow the present tenants to continue living there at subsidized rentals they can afford, much as they do with other public housing developments. One of the city's new Housing Authority commissioners is Rev. Jim Jones, whose People's Temple turned out almost 1,000 participants at the last big I-Hotel demonstration, so perhaps some creative and supportive proposals may be forthcoming from that agency.

The International Hotel has proved so far how much power will bend when it has to. How the hotel's city-wide support mobilizes over the coming weeks will determine its future.

Chester Hartman is an urban planner and author of several books, including *Yerba Buena: Land Grab and Community Resistance in San Francisco*. Recently he has begun a communication/action network for radical planners and organizers; readers interested in this network should contact him at 360 Elizabeth St., SF CA 94114.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

Folk music alive and well in Chicago

No one has yet devised a good working definition of folk music. There are long lists of what it's not, but none of what it is. There is no single set of characteristics that would apply to Pete Seeger, John Jacob Niles, Bob Gibson and Bob Dylan; no definition that would include groups like the Weavers and Peter, Paul and Mary, and eliminate the Kingston Trio.

In the '60s there was an impression that folk music was synonymous with "protest songs." "John Henry" and "Barbara Allen" were forgotten. Bluegrass pickers were ignored. If it wasn't the young Dylan or Phil Ochs, it just wasn't folk music. When Dylan went electric, the folk world staggered. When the '60s ended, folk music died. Or so some people seem to think.

But it ain't necessarily so.

Political commentary is one aspect of folk music and not an aspect unique to the '60s. Broadside balladeers have always performed a function similar to that of today's "underground" press: speaking directly to people outside the power structure, relating events, commenting on conditions; sometimes in the tone of a scandal sheet, reporting grisly murders and illicit love affairs, sometimes as straight journalism, describing great storms, ship-sinkings, battles.

Yet folk music is not confined to commentary, nor to an audience outside a country's cultural mainstream. (One of the best known of all folk melodies, "Greensleeves," is supposed to have been written by Henry VIII.) Through classicism and romanticism, through monarchies, republics and democracies, folk music has followed its own course without concern for artistic trends or schools of thought. While Henry Purcell was writing a trumpet concerto for the British court, an anonymous troubadour was singing the tale of "The Golden Vanity"—a British ship fighting the Spanish in Dutch waters. Both pieces of music survive today. While Purcell's stimulates our senses, "The Golden Vanity" portrays the whole

range of human behavior in the face of danger. Folk music concerns itself with people: their thoughts, desires, triumphs and tragedies. At least as important as its political commentary is its role as the psychological historian of humanity.

In our own century folk music has performed both these functions.

From the gentle ditties of the early 1900s, which reflected prosperity, hope and the belief that right will always prevail against wrong, through the Depression ballads of the '30s, folk music

offered a *viva voce* commentary on who was doing what and why. Then Woody Guthrie gave way to Pete Seeger and the Weavers. And that's where the confusion begins.

Although folk music had always been popular entertainment, it had never entered established theaters and concert halls. It was the Weavers who first brought the general public into theaters to hear the kind of music that had usually been performed in homes, pubs and marketplaces. Like any other music publicly performed before a pay-

ing audience, folk music fell under the scrutiny of critics, scholars and students.

Bob Gibson forged the link between folk music and "pop" music. If folk music had been a simple farm girl, it was Gibson who taught her to wear make-up. He brought sophistication into the genre, creating a wildly successful entertainment form for modern, urban audiences. From the stage of Chicago's old Gates of Horn, Gibson laid the groundwork for what became known as "commercial folk music," the success of which gave rise to

groups like Peter, Paul and Mary and eventually led to folk-rock.

This linking of folk with "pop" had one ominous consequence. Like other forms of popular entertainment—like hula hoops, surfer sounds, frisbees and bubble-gum music—folk became subject to popular whim. Fads have their shining hour and then fade. That's what happened to folk, at just about the time the phenomenon of widespread political protest was dying out.

But folk music didn't die. It merely shook off the bondage of pop culture and once more assumed its old position. Folk music is back where it's always been: in homes, on the streets and in small clubs. Pete Seeger and Bob Gibson are still writing and performing. The blue-grass pickers have been absorbed by country music and are more popular than ever. Weekend folk festivals take place all over the country, all summer long (in Chicago in the worst of winter). And play to full houses.

Since the days when Gibson ruled at the Gates of Horn, two generations of folk performers have grown up. There are Bryan Bowers and Gamble Rogers, who bring sophistication to southern rural music. There's Jim Post who can turn a gospel song into an extravaganza. There's Larry Rand who fills the shoes of the 17th century broadside balladeers. There's Steve Goodman, who can be all things to all people, stepping easily from folk to jazz to rock to classical and back again, because as far as he's concerned, music is music. There are Bonnie Kolloc and Claudia Schmit, who are vocally liberated in a way their older sisters—Baez and Collins—could never be.

So the next time you hear someone tolling the death-knell for folk music, tell him to come to Chicago. In the Second City, folk music, like Tim Finnegan, is a mighty lively corpse.

—G. Gigi Gilmartin

G. Gigi Gilmartin is a Chicago writer who covers the folk-music scene for Chicago readers.



Jim Post is packing the house in Chicago folk music clubs and on many midwestern campuses—sometimes alone and sometimes dividing the program with Steve Goodman. Post's latest

album, "Back on the Streets Again" (from the title song by Tom Dundee), on the Mountain Railroad label, is newly released by Flying Fish (3320 N. Halsted St., Chicago, 60657). Its high-

light is "Walk on the Water," a gospel-type rouser, embellished by a fantastic Postian commentary. □

Folk performers and protesters in new books

FOLK MUSIC: More Than a Song

By Kristin Baggelear and Donald Milton
Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N.Y., \$14.95

MINSTRELS OF THE DAWN

By Jerome L. Rodnitzky
Nelson-Hall, Chicago, \$8.95

Folk Music: More Than a Song is an encyclopedia. You don't just get blind guidelines to do "the most complete and authoritative reference of folk music of the English-speaking world ever compiled." But it falls far short of the publisher's claims.

Unlike previous volumes of this type, *Folk Music* lists performers rather than songs. Predictably, there are lengthy sections of Woody Guthrie, all the Seegers, Baez and Dylan. All

though the biographical information is neither complete nor completely accurate, it's the best one can expect from such a "Chinese menu" approach.

The most disturbing aspect of the book is the non-objective criteria for determining which performers are included and which are ignored. The preface states that the treatment is "more personal than scholarly;" the result is essentially a private scrapbook that will only interest those who share the authors' tastes. The listing for Bud and Travis says "See Travis Edmonson." Turning to that listing, one is referred to the Gateway Singers, where it says that Edmonson was a member of that group. There is no further reference to Bud and Travis,

who recorded nearly a dozen albums and were responsible for introducing Latino elements into American music.

Neither is there any mention of Blind Blake—either the American blues singer or the Bahamian calypso artist. Yet the New Christy Minstrels and the Serendipity Singers are prominently featured. Where they do credit "old masters," they've chosen to ignore current successors. Kilby Snow and Maybelle Carter are included as autoharp virtuosos, but there is no mention of Bryan Bowers. Marie Travis and Doc Watson are featured, but there's no mention of Gamble Rogers or Norman Blake.

Neither is there any discussion of the 12-string guitar, its im-

portance in modern folk music or Bob Gibson's creation of 12-string techniques. And how Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young qualify as folk performers defies explanation. Folk purists may well be offended by the emphasis on "Top 40" performers.

The sub-title of *Minstrels of the Dawn* is "The Folk-Protest Singer As a Cultural Hero." Where *Folk Music* is a catalogue, *Minstrels of the Dawn* is catechism. Like a Ph.D. thesis, *Minstrels* states its hypothesis and sets out to prove it with a vengeance. The central portion of the book deals with Guthrie, Ochs, Baez and Dylan (the elimination of Pete Seeger is explained in the preface, but not sufficiently.) The scholarship is to be applauded.

There are copious footnotes; all quotations and facts are identified and authenticated. But there is some uncertainty about the book's intended audience.

At times, Rodnitzky appears to be explaining protest music to its fans. At other times, it seems he's trying to explain the protest performers to themselves and throughout there's a tone that indicates perhaps the parents of young radicals are his real target. A sociological treatise of the protest movement as exemplified by the music of the era is a valid undertaking. But Rodnitzky has probably bitten off more than his readers can chew.

—G.G.G.

TELEVISION

Shrunkened and distorted version of *Roots* on TV

By Bill Cutler

Commentator William Raspberry said recently about ABC's eight-part dramatization of *Roots* that white viewers should not overemphasize the role they played in the story they saw unfolding on TV. The series, he claimed, was about the black family, its strengths and resources, not about race relations.

Interesting enough, that perspective—and dead wrong.

What ABC managed to do, in fact, was to turn a written text with exactly the qualities Raspberry stresses into a treatise on race relations. The book by Alex Haley is a rare and precious document that explores the shared experience of Americans as only non-whites see it. Yet as shaped by the ABC scriptwriters, the story becomes one more chapter of routine American history—with more roles for black actors, to be sure, and a far more sensitive and accurate assessment of the ways blacks and whites interacted than our conventional textbooks have provided.

But the focus of *Roots* is altered almost beyond recognition. Not only is the TV story for and about white people to an extent and in ways that the book provides absolutely no model for, but the script actually dares to lecture black Americans about the correct responses they should adopt toward oppression, violence, and racism. Grafted onto a work almost totally devoid of either moralizing or amateur psychologizing are the kind of simple-minded lessons and third-rate Freudian reductivism we can see every night on *Guns, Smoke, The Waltons, Mod Squad*, and *The Doctors*.

►Domesticating *ROOTS*.

The process of domesticating *Roots* begins with a vengeance in the first TV episode. The book forces readers from the start out of their traditional approaches to history with a long, rhapsodic, imaginatively detailed recreation of an African world that knows nothing of the white man's value systems, measurements, customs, expectations, assumptions. To the extent that white people enter the consciousness of Haley's Africans at all, they are seen as murderers, rapists, torturers, robbers, and quite probably cannibals.

Civilization is the gentle, protective, nurturing, tradition-conscious, past-revering way of life of Mandinkas in the Gambia.

This complete reversal of our usual associations is absolutely necessary to the success of Haley's radical myth-making. Black as well as white Americans have been so conditioned to identify beauty and significance with Europe that Haley must work with incredible care and precision to document an alternative culture.

►Reference points for average viewer.

ABC changed all this and provided comfortably reassuring reference points for the average American viewer all the way through the serial. Not only do the actors playing Mandinkas talk, gesture, and express emotion very much as black Americans are traditionally shown doing in films and on stage, but the audience is also asked to show an interest from the start in the way white Americans think. Interspersed with the scenes of African life are episodes that purport to tell, in the standard flat-footed style of TV serials with "messages" to convey, how the captain of the American slave trader is corrupted and debased by his occupation.

Christian scruples, the Protestant work ethic, the hypocrisy of prayerful looking-away from evil—all this is easy, familiar stuff. Instead of rooting the audience in the black experience, making us know and feel, first the bliss of the African home and the comfort of tribe, and then the agony and loneliness and isolation of the middle passage, the TV director lets us rest from strangeness, unpleasantness, in semi-comic interludes involving the ship's captain, which can neither fret nor burden the Western mind.

In the process, the whole foundation of Haley's story disappears. He has a story to tell only because his first American ancestor, Kunta Kinte, refused to let go of his identity once he was stolen into slavery. He wanted his child to know who he was just as his father and the elders of his tribe had impressed on him who they were. His grandfather and namesake, after all, was a great man, a village-builder, a tribal giant. Kunta Kinte wasn't about to forget who he was and whose name he proudly bore.

ABC skims over all of that. The way they handled the saga is like a Japanese film crew telling the story of an American family, forgetting to mention that its members descended from George Washington.

►White roles changed.

Throughout the serial white characters are given more prominence or made less sinister (or both) than Haley makes them out to be. Missy Ann, Kizzy's companion, for instance, is portrayed on TV as fluff-headed, a kind of Scarlett O'Hara without wit, but the crucial transformation from bossy but affectionate teaser to cold, unfeeling adolescent—and the effect of this unexplained rejection on Kizzy herself—are simply omitted.

Even more disturbing is the way in which the "kind" massa Waller is shown selling Kizzy away from her parents. Haley depicts him as a rationalist abiding by "rules" that he lays down for the plantation. When his rules are broken he's completely unconcerned about his slaves' feelings. After Kizzy has transgressed Massa Waller makes no effort to tell the girl's parents what he plans to do with her. Kizzy's mother, Bell, eavesdrops as Massa arranges with a slave trader to sell her off, whereupon Bell charges in upon the conversation screaming like a maniac. It would have made a great scene.

ABC, however, depicts the massa, like a true Virginia gentleman and Jeffersonian, explaining rationally to Kizzy's parents why she is being sold. A very tame scene of protest follows compared to the book's dramatics. The TV massa comes off smelling, comparatively, like a rose.

►More changes closer to present.

The ABC serial diverges more and more bizarrely from the written text as the episodes approach the present. The very minor figure of the poor-white overseer George Johnson becomes a central focus of interest on the tube. As Haley heard the legend passed down in the family, when his ancestors were prepared to move

after the Civil War from North Carolina to their own land in Tennessee, George begged them to take him and his wife along. After considerable debate, the blacks agreed. George is a comic figure, of interest because of how the black family treats him.

On TV George saves Haley's great-grandfather from the whips of the Ku Klux Klan (an entirely invented episode). George's heroics point out the oh-so-obvious moral lesson, that all white folks ain't bad, and how the homilies on reverse racism do flow!

The Klan is never mentioned—not once—in Haley's *Roots*, but it takes up a major portion of the TV serial's final episodes. Evidently ABC didn't feel Haley's narrative was melodramatic enough, and so they hoked up a preposterous knock-down shoot-em-up sequence full of killing and looting and revenge resisted, such a concoction as might result from a scriptwriter for McCloud copulating with a scriptwriter for *Mission Impossible*.

►What about blacks making it on own?

Silly and unimportant, sure—except for what this sort of barren fantasy shows about our popular culture's sophistication in handling black experience. Haley depicts black people making it on their own after the Civil War overcoming odds with cunning, resourcefulness and good humor. Haley's grandfather, Will Palmer, in fact, was such a good manager of the lumber mill in Henning, Tenn., that when the drunken old white mill owner died, the bankers and leading businessmen told Palmer that the town needed the mill, that he was the only man who could run it, and that they were liquidating its debts and turning over ownership to him.

That true story would have taxed ABC's resources, with their fatal tendency to overplay and make the likely improbable, so it's just as well they didn't tackle it. But look at what they give us

instead—the familiar saga of black people's very existences being determined, shaped, controlled by rascally, stupid whites. Clearly, it was beyond the pale for TV to show blacks providing essential services to whites and defining their own priorities independently of white folks' say-so. To return to William Raspberry's terms, *Roots* as televised is at least as much about race relations as it is about the strengths of the black family.

►Still bit into our minds.

All of which is not to deny the tremendous cultural impact of the TV serial on black and white Americans. Haley's pilgrimage was so monumental an accomplishment that, like the landing of a man on the moon, our consciousness of where we've come from and where we're going will never again quite be the same. Even in the shrunkened and distorted version that was beamed into 100 million or so American homes, the truth of Haley's epic bit deep into our minds. We're a people, alas, whose education and culture have totally unprepared us to know the reality of our own past.

What saddens me is the certitude that ABC got exclusive dramatization rights to Haley's work, at least for as long as I'm likely to live. So I'll never get to see an accurate portrayal of his family's development and growth. Perhaps, though, by 2067, the 300th anniversary of Kunta Kinte's enslavement, less timid Americans than we will have the courage to dig deep and find the roots of *Roots*.

Bill Cutler is an associate editor of *Brown's Guide to Georgia*.

JUMPCUT

A REVIEW OF
CONTEMPORARY
CINEMA *developing a radical
film criticism*

6 issues \$4.00

JUMPCUT

PO Box 865
Berkeley CA 94701

cineaste

WINTER 1976-77 ISSUE

'Red Flags and American Dollars', A Preview of Bernardo Bertolucci's new film, "1900", with two interviews; 'The Politics of Luis Bunuel's Later Films' (from LOS OLVIDADOS to DISCREET CHARM); 'The Left and Porno'; UNDERGROUND, Pro and Con reviews; interviews with Nagisa Oshima on IN THE REALM OF THE SENSES and Alain Tanner on JONAH WHO WILL BE 25 IN THE YEAR 2000; plus reviews of THE FRONT, MEMORY OF JUSTICE, THE LAST WOMAN, THE OMEN, LET'S TALK ABOUT MEN, THE LAST TYCOON, etc.

SPRING ISSUE: HARLAN COUNTY, U.S.A.; Roberto Rossellini talks about his new film on Karl Marx

\$4 for four issues
Pamphlets Subscription, \$10
333 Sixth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10014

National Convention
of the

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST
ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

February 18-21st

Public Forum on:

“PROSPECTS FOR
SOCIAL PROGRESS
UNDER CARTER”

with

Irving Howe • James Farmer

Elizabeth McPike

7:30 pm Friday - Feb. 18th

Holiday Inn, 1 S. Halsted St.

Chicago, Illinois

Keynote address by

Michael Harrington

Saturday - Feb. 19th

Luncheon with special guest

Rep. John Conyers

Sunday - Feb. 20th

For more information write:
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING
COMMITTEE OF ILLINOIS

Box 59422, Chicago, Illinois 60659
or call 312/338-6710

BOOKS

Photo courtesy of Library of Congress



Black families waiting for the boat to St. Louis.

An exodus without a Moses

Black freedmen seek a new Canaan in John Brown's old home.

EXODUSTERS: BLACK MIGRATION TO KANSAS AFTER RECONSTRUCTION

By Nell Irwin Painter
Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., \$12.95

In the spring of 1879, 14 years after the Civil War had supposedly confirmed the freedom of southern blacks, thousands of them lined the banks of the Mississippi, seeking passage on boats that would take them first to St. Louis and then to Kansas. The verdict of the war was being eroded and undermined as their former masters regained power and systematically deprived blacks of their civil and political rights and, in some cases, even their lives. The North, tired of reading about Southern outrages, had simply turned its back on the freedmen, and they now knew that they had no friends to aid them.

The blacks from Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas who took part in the "exodus" to Kansas may not have had any clear idea of what they would find in this new Canaan, but they knew what Egypt was like. Henry Adams, a former Union soldier from rural Louisiana, kept a record of 683

separate incidents of racial violence:

"164th. Nathan Williams (colored), badly whipped and his cotton taken away without any cause by Bill Mark, a white man, on his place, in 1874, because he voted the Radical [Republican] ticket."

Not only were blacks prevented from voting, they were denied the opportunity to educate their children. The vicious system of debt peonage was already assuming its role as a replacement for slavery. As one put it, "We have been free 14 years and are still poor and ignorant, yet we make as much cotton and sugar as we did when we were slaves, and it does us as little good now as it did then."

A talented young black historian, Nell Irwin Painter views the migration to Kansas as a reasonable response to increasingly intolerable conditions in the post-Reconstruction South. Although contemporary whites preferred to consider it the case of a people misled by unscrupulous leaders, victims of a mass delusion, Painter sees the exodus as proof that "Afro-Americans

did not quietly resign themselves to the political or economic order of the Redeemed South."

Kansas operated on the minds of the Exodusters as a powerful myth that allowed desperate men and women to hope that freedom awaited them in another place. Canaan proved hard to reach. Boats refused to pick up the blacks encamped on the river banks. But those who did finally get across found at least a measure of relief. They did not, of course, escape racism, but they did escape the brutal violence and debt peonage of the Deep South. In this sense, the Exodusters proved to be smarter than the "Representative Colored Men" who tried to dispel their dream of finding freedom in John Brown's former home.

By emphasizing the role rural blacks played in shaping their own history, Nell Irwin Painter has made an important contribution to the history of Americans.

—Arthur Zilversmit

Arthur Zilversmit is the author of *Lincoln on Black and White: A Documentary History*.

Life is rigorous in Suburbia

THE GRASS IS ALWAYS GREENER OVER THE SEPTIC TANK

By Erma Bombeck
New York, McGraw-Hill, 1976, \$6.95

Erma Bombeck is one of the funniest women on TV, as you know if you have ever watched her on ABC's "Good Morning, America." A former obituary writer (and home-room mother), she has the knack of transferring verbal comedy to the printed page.

Her three previous best-sellers, (*At Wit's End*, *Just Wait Till You Have Children of Your Own*, and *I Lost Everything in the Post-Natal Depression*) have mined the humor of the frustrations of everyday middle-class American life. In *The Grass Is Always Greener Over the Septic Tank* she takes up her cudgels in defense of the thousands of city dwellers who journeyed to the suburbs "in search of a bath and a half and a tree."

"The suburbs were discovered quite by accident one day in the early 1940s by a Welcome Wagon lady who was lost. As she stood in a mushy marshland, her sturdy

Red Cross shoes sinking into the mire, she looked down and exclaimed, 'It's a septic tank. I've discovered the suburbs!'"

"The first winter more than half the original settlers perished. ... Other poor devils died of old age trying to merge onto the freeway to the city. One was attacked by a fast-growing evergreen the builder planted near his front door. (They named a high school after him.)"

Bombeck has experienced many of the frustrations she writes about and makes instant contact with readers delighted to learn that someone else has endured their most-cherished misfortunes, or the equivalent. As she recounts her life and that of her neighbors in the newly developed community of Suburban Gems, we are introduced to a set of characters who could qualify as just plain folks were it not for the peculiar events that the author claims are an inevitable part of life in the suburbs, which turn them into irrational, depressed and fanatical men and women. There are husbands fighting for custody of the lawn;

lonely wives having lunch with their wigs, or fighting against the dread disease of "car-pool crouch."

Some fresh light is shed on the plight of a "liberated woman" who settles in Suburbia. As Bombeck sees it, she is subjected to a chilling ostracism that is usually enough to transform her into a carbon copy of her neighbors: forgetful bored women "biding their time until the children are grown."

There is an undercurrent of semi-serious commentary on other social or political issues, but the main idea is to entertain and the author pulls that off with style.

The Grass Is Always Greener Over the Septic Tank is simply and lucidly written, and never having lived in the suburbs will not diminish the reader's enjoyment of it. Few things are as risible as the other fellow's troubles.

—Tashian Ferrell

Tashian Ferrell works in publishing in New York City.

THEATER

Brownsville Raid is good bet for TV

On a dry summer evening in 1906 the quiet of Brownsville, Texas, was suddenly shattered by a barrage of gunfire. A Mexican lay dead; the town was outraged. Everyone was convinced that the culprits were riflemen from a black regiment recently stationed in Brownsville over the protests of its redneck residents.

Despite unsettling incongruities in the evidence, the white authorities assumed the guilt of at least some of the blacks. They tried to muster a handful of scapegoats, and when they failed, the entire regiment of 167 men was dishonorably discharged without the slightest bow to such legal niceties as courts-martial.

The Brownsville Raid, by Charles Fuller, currently being presented at New York's Theatre de Lys by the Negro Ensemble Company, recounts this instance of pure tyranny, emphasizing the political motivation of the white power structure and the helplessness of the black soldiers, betrayed by a military apparatus they trust to look out for its own.

The focal character, Sergeant Mingo Saunders (played by Douglas Turner Ward) believes that the army is a system of rules, albeit hard ones, that are reliable if you play by them. The blacks are good soldiers; that is what counts. But under these conditions the mask of reciprocity falls aside, revealing the grim reality of arbitrary power.

Fuller approaches his material like a lawyer, gradually sifting through the evidence, exposing the procedural irregularities of

the investigation, hinting that the people of Brownsville may have engineered a conspiracy against the blacks. The script instructs the audience in the abuse of power and the law within the framework of a mystery whose carefully planted clues evolve into an unexpected and spirited defense summation, à la Perry Mason.

The event depicted in *The Brownsville Raid* involves a profound personal theme—the sundering of the foundation of an entire system of beliefs. Fuller knows this; his characters say as much. But their experience is not transmitted dramatically. There are few dialogues or soliloquies in which their hopes and fears are made concrete. Most of the playwright's attention is on plotting. The script seems less like theater and more like serious TV.

There are many changes of scene and director Israel Hicks handles them, for the most part, by simply overlapping the action: one scene fading out as the next one fades in on a different stage area. This too suggests that the play might be more effective on TV where the camera makes this approach so much easier.

As theater *The Brownsville Raid* is not completely satisfying. But as a detailed case history of injustice it performs an important service, and as a filmed TV show it could be excellent.

—Sally Banes and Noel Carroll

Noel Carroll teaches film at N.Y.U. Sally Banes is a dance and theater critic.



Douglas Turner Ward laying down the rules.

FILM

FUN WITH DICK AND JANE

Directed by Ted Kotcheff; screenplay by David Giler, Jerry Belson and Mordecai Richler

Starring Jane Fonda, George Segal and Ed McMahon

Produced by Peter Bart and Max Palevsky; Rated PG

Bigger is better in burglaries by subversive suburbanites

From the hilarious opening credits to the teletyped epilogue, *Fun with Dick and Jane* is that rarest of achievements—a totally successful, genuine, 14-carat farce.

Successful with the audience, that is. It will surely offend the pillars of all Establishments, from the aerospace industry to your friendly neighborhood savings and loan; from Social Security to Immigration; from the followers of Billy Graham, et al. to the devotees of Ralph Waldo Emerson. One can imagine the screen writers pausing in the final stages of their work to ask each other, "Now is there anyone else we ought to take a swipe at?"

The real target is the American middle-class value system (subscribed to by large sections of the working class as well): a "good life" measured in mountains of material possessions; self-respect rooted in a credit rating adequate to cover payments-due; and a morality based on respect for private—or even better, corporate property. The system takes a hell of a beating at the hands of Dick and Jane. And there is a quality in the laughter that greets each solidly landed punch that indicates Americans have been waiting for this longer than we knew.

Dick and Jane are, of course,



Segal and Fonda at the moment of truth.

grown-up versions of protagonists of the old Scott-Foresman readers. Only now they are married, have one child (male), a dog (named Spot), a split-level home in a Southern California suburb, two mortgages, half a swimming pool, a dozen credit cards, and nothing in the bank. Dick is an aerospace executive, junior grade, but the Industry is de-

pressed and retrenching, and he gets fired.

Jane tried to get a job, but has no skills except clothes-horsing. Dick applies for unemployment and food stamps. The shrubbery is repossessed by the nursery that installed it. The lawn is rolled up and trucked away. The electricity is shut off. The dinner menu is Hamburger Help-

er. All the cash they can get from the loan company is \$1,000 at 18 percent compound, and that only because the shark "likes people."

At this desperate juncture they fall victim to a poorly executed stick-up which points them in the direction where hope lies. There are a few false starts. For a while it looks as if the engineer who

helped put a man on the moon is not going to be able to start a car without keys. But luck and a little work in the library turn the trick, and in less time than it takes to foreclose a mortgage Dick and Jane are a two-car, two-person team of unmasked bandits.

George Segal and Jane Fonda play the title roles with elegant nonchalance. They are accomplished comedians with fine timing and the ability to move from slapstick to something like a comedy of manners and back without stripping gears. But their performances are no better than those of their supporting players, all of whom are very good, and some of whom are super. Memorable among the fat bits is Jane's mother, played by Mary Jackson whose simpleton smile and fervent repetition of her husband's last platitude about self-reliance makes a caustic comment on American Grandmotherism.

While you're watching Dick and Jane aim higher and higher and waiting for the retribution that seems inevitable (you remember that the Motion Picture Code used to require that crime be punished); you are laughing too hard to do much heavy thinking. But what stays with you after the end credits have faded is a concept as subversive as Chaplin's analogy between capitalism and murder in *Monsieur Verdoux*.

Something about how it's not the principle, but the scale that counts. Or bigger is better, especially in burglary.

—Janet Stevenson

Sadlowski

Continued from page 3.

The almost unbroken phalanx of "official family" support for McBride, from top international officers to local presi-

dents, greatly helped McBride with money, publicity, credibility and the loyalty of people within the union who have strong personal ambitions. Despite the active campaign and much outside publicity, many workers had heard little about the candidates or issues.

McBride's major campaign theme, that Sadlowski was bankrolled by outsiders and employers, seemed to make little impact. Red-baiting, which declined late in the campaign, hurt in a few locals, but

Robert Bambic, president of Local 2 in Joliet, said, "The communist shit don't work in big locals. There, every time somebody goes up against the foreman, they get called 'communist.' People don't pay any attention, but it's different in little locals."

With McBride's clear lead, outgoing president I. W. Abel will stay on during the steel negotiations that start this week. McBride's victory statement urged "all factions to close ranks" behind negotia-

tors. He took a swipe at Sadlowski, saying that "those who charge our union has lost its resolve and direction do not know our membership very well."

But a Sadlowski campaign activist thought there was another lesson: "The people who are dissatisfied now know something about organizing. They're not going to forget that." The conflict in the Steelworkers union and the career of Ed Sadlowski have not been permanently halted. ■

Still lots of time to enter the gigantic In These Times subscription contest!

Here's what you get:

1. The first person to sell 50 subscriptions to *In These Times* wins a Sony 15 inch color television or equivalent.
2. The person who sells the *most* subscriptions above 50 wins a Sony 19 inch color television or equivalent.
3. Nobody wins two color televisions. If the person who first reaches 50 also sells the most subscriptions, the 15 inch television will go to the second highest score.
4. The first person to sell 30 subscriptions to *In These Times* wins a Sony compact stereo system or equivalent.
5. Everyone who sells 30 subscriptions wins a Texas Instruments calculator or equivalent.
6. Everyone who sells 15 subscriptions wins an *In These Times* t-shirt.

Here's how it works:

1. Fill in the blank below and mail it to us.
2. We'll send you 50 *official contest blanks*.
3. Once your score reaches 40, we'll send you 50 more blanks.
4. The contest ends March 31st. We won't count any contest blanks postmarked later than midnight, March 31, 1977.
5. Only fully-paid, \$15 subscriptions on *official contest blanks* will be counted.
6. In the unlikely event of a tie for either of the color televisions, the earliest postmark on the final entry blank will win.
7. Everyone is eligible to play except people whose names appear in the *In These Times* staff box and their families.
8. Void where prohibited.

Remember, only entries on *official contest blanks* will be counted.
Mail to:

New Majority Publishing Co., Inc.
1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622

name

street

city/state/zip

telephone

IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Tailgunner Joe: political torpedo for power elite

By Norman Markowitz

Joe McCarthy rose and fell against a background of newspaper headlines and television cameras. Twenty years after his death, the National Broadcasting Co., one of many institutions that honored him and his ism, has presented a three-hour epic of his life. The film, "Tailgunner Joe,"—aired Sunday, Feb. 6, as NBC's "Big Event"—buries the real McCarthy and his historical context, but does much to discredit lunatics, alcoholics, and mediocrities.

At the beginning of "Tailgunner Joe," McCarthy is described as the man who "almost tore America apart." Near the end of his life he is portrayed as a drunken lunatic hiding in the broom closet of a hospital drunk tank as men in white coats come to lead him off.

As if to clinch this message of aberrant evil feeding upon a society of sheep, the young woman researcher who wanders through the film, a la Citizen Kane, seeking McCarthy's story through flashbacks and interviews, provides at the conclusion a definition of her subject and his ism: McCarthy was finally a man with no goals, no shame, no guilt and no achievements. He should have been fought by the President (Ike by inference). He "more or less created a national climate of fear, but he himself caught no Communists, uncovered no traitors, found no subversives. Not one.... People like McCarthy are born every 30 seconds, and that is the horror."

►Politics left out.

If McCarthy had "caught" any real Communists, the viewers would never know it, for neither the Communist movement, the New Deal, the political right, nor any politics relevant to the U.S. in the 1940s and '50s is treated in "Tailgunner Joe." Indeed, from the film no one would know that the "horror" of "McCarthyism" in the U.S. goes well beyond the relatively short career of Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

McCarthyism in its popular usage, or political repression directed against the working class and its supporters among the intellectuals, has its roots in the struggle between workers and capitalists, a struggle that produced Pinkerton Agency terrorism and criminal anarchist laws in the pre-World War I period; investigating committees, deportations, and 100 percent Americanism (with the radicals portrayed as the agents of a Moscow-controlled conspiracy) during the first Red Scare in 1919-20; and repressive laws, political show trials, and blacklisting against those who were labelled Communists, fellow travelers, sympathizers, anti-anti-Communists, etc., after World War II.

The story of McCarthyism, treated seriously, would implicate big businessmen, police chiefs, generals, scholars, government functionaries—the whole structure of corporate power in the United States. It cannot be understood as the machinations of a malevolent madman fomenting political hysteria for fame and profit.

"Tailgunner Joe" tells McCarthy's private story in an historical vacuum. For three hours, those who stayed awake observed a wooden and somewhat menacing McCarthy (Peter Boyle) lie, cheat, and drink his way to national fame. McCarthy's background is carefully presented,

but the cold war context and the roles of other important domestic political figures are hardly touched. Through interviews with the Senator's acquaintances and victims, we learn that in a world of cynicism and corruption McCarthy plumbed new depths by appealing, with the aid of a prostituted media, to a philistine public opinion ready to swallow anything McCarthy said—until his final showdown with Joseph Welch before the Army-McCarthy hearings. All of this is banal, reminiscent of the cold war liber-

al pundits of the 1950s who looked to Great Britain for civility and who blamed McCarthy on the absence of a responsible, decent American elite civil service and a responsible, decent, elite people.

►Only a few hints.

By avoiding the larger political context, the epic fails to show the ritualistic cold war liberal attacks on Communists as the leftwing twins of McCarthy. There are occasional hints of rich, corrupt forces that support McCarthy, and one surprising reference to Harry Truman as the man who launched the loyalty boards and made the Attorney General's list a best-seller. But "Tailgunner Joe" basically follows the cliché view of McCarthy, most closely associated with Richard Rovere, by portraying him both as an exotic monster and as an unscrupulous demagogue who played on the frustrations of boobs and the alienated masses. One of McCarthy's GI buddies actually sums this up in the film: "What a guy. Every GI's dream is to screw the system. Boy, he could really do it."

Of course, McCarthy wasn't screwing the system, but rather like a freelance hit man for the crime syndicate, doing some of its dirtiest work and consolidating some of its worst tendencies. In "Tailgunner

Joe" there is no hint of a system, however, just a political gargoyle run amok, an insane man from an insane time that one can feel faintly guilty about and then forget. Even the final lines of the film, as the researcher is asked, "what you're saying is, it could happen again?" and she replies, "hasn't it?" (a probable reference to Nixon, an easy target attacked with impunity through the film), betrays its general cynicism and lack of resolution.

Those who have forgotten, or never knew, the sordid personal history of Joe McCarthy may be led by the film to question politicians who use red-baiting as a device to attack the left and to cover up their own venality. But for those who wanted some historical understanding, "Tailgunner Joe" offers little beyond an exercise in inept and boring escapism, a chronicle of a political torpedo who (to turn one of his own phrases around) represented the tip of an iceberg of organized corporate power, anti-working class reaction, and cold war conflict.

Norman Markowitz is associate professor of history at Rutgers University. He is the author of a book on Henry A. Wallace and is writing a history of anti-communism in America, 1946-1972.

Roots said something for America.

Eighty million Americans watched *Roots*. And eighty million Americans disproved the assumption of most media that the public can't understand or stomach anything that challenges their ability to think or change.

In *These Times* is a weekly newspaper that starts with a different set of assumptions.

We believe in the intelligence and integrity of our readers. We believe you are capable of making your own judgments about issues when they're presented in a full and responsible way.

Because of this, *In These Times* is a different brand of newspaper. We're a socialist newspaper that isn't out to score ideological points. We're a humanistic newspaper, but not a moralistic one. We take on serious issues, but not without a sense of humor.

Take the cabinet appointments. Rather than dwell on the marital fidelity of Carter's dozen, we told you who these men are, and how they view America's future. We told you about the corporate connections of the Vances and Blumen-



thals, the kind of decisions they've made in the past and the interests we can expect them to represent in the future.

We've covered social movements that oppose corporate control and domination. Like the Sadlowski and Hayden campaigns. We've taken up issues that concern environmentalists, like PBB poisoning in Michigan, and those that concern feminists, like the anti-abortion movement and who's running it.

You'll find reviews of major books and films which avoid the persnickety condescension you've come to expect from many critics. You'll read interviews and stories on some of your favorite musicians like Loretta Lynn and Esther Philips. And you'll chuckle at our weekly comic strip, "The Factory."

In our opinion section you'll find such notables as Nobel-prize-winning physicist Salvador Luria and Frances Moore Lappe, author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. It is commentary that aims to inform and provoke—not to preach.

And, like Alex Haley, we believe you must know your past in order to hope to control your future. It is a perspective that informs everything you read in *In These Times*.

The present, past, and future. At \$15 for 50 issues, can you afford not to read *In These Times*?

INTRODUCTORY OFFER: Send \$5.00 and we'll send you 3 months of *In These Times*

IN THESE TIMES

1509 North Milwaukee Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60622

Letters

Got his fingers crossed

Editor:

I have been active in Local 2, United Federation of Postal Clerks, and was on the labor council. I read *In These Times* regularly and believe it to be one of the greatest accomplishments by people calling themselves socialists in this country. It is a breathtaking accomplishment; the reportage is deep, informative, free of rhetoric and doubletalk; it is in fact a model of what a socialist newspaper should be, and could lay the foundations for the emergence of a mature and responsible American left (I've got my fingers crossed!)

I am a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. I enjoyed reading your comments on DSOC's electoral activities, and the letter by Jack Clark. I thought your comments had merit. You're right—it's time to start running good socialist candidates for state legislatures.

—Lawrence Swaim
San Francisco

We could make great music together!

Editor:

I read the article by Steve Chapple, "Where have all the folk songs gone?" (*ITT*, Jan. 26) with some disappointment. It is sad that most left-wing publications (with the exception of *Sing Out*) discuss music only in terms of records and professional performers.

It is easy to discuss the national music industry as a ghastly example of American capitalism. But most of the left press has ignored a major cultural development of recent years—the amazing increase in the number of people who are making their own music. The best of the commercial music industry is simply a reflection or an attempt to absorb something from this mass music making.

Millions upon millions of people have at least learned how to play a guitar in the last 20 years (including me). There is an amoeba-like proliferation of local bands that many people are more interested in than they are in record and radio music. And these local groups usually make their own music. Not to mention even more countless jam sessions.

Music has become one of the main ways that millions of people on the road who meet in chance groups are able to get to know each other quickly and coordinate future activities. One interesting development—large numbers of young white Americans have become able to sing in harmony spontaneously, as black Americans have always done. Until recently whites seldom sang in harmony without the authoritarian leadership of a choir director.

This musical ability to coordinate activity as a team has implications for the rest of society.

Without the folk music records "stars," I think traditional folk music is more active now than it has been in many years. Here in Oklahoma, traditional fiddle players are drawing crowds in many localities and teaching younger people their vast repertoire of tunes.

As for songs with political comment, they are being made up all over the place, forgotten and replaced by new political songs all the time—never coming near the record business.

I think socialists should pay more attention to helping music-making develop among the people and less to whatever fads the capitalist music industry are into.

Best wishes for *In These Times*—it's a good paper.

—Jodey Bateman
Norman, Okla.

Off your knees, Dave.

Editor:

I object to the doublethink in David Milton's story on China (*ITT*, Jan. 19). Milton describes the Chinese revolution as a "revolution from below." But in the same paragraph, he writes that "the Chinese rank and file, thanks to Mao, are now more sophisticated than many Western observers are willing to grant."

Which way is it? Did the revolution come from below or was it handed down by Mao? Should we say thanks to the masses or thanks to Mao?

This particular Western observer is willing to grant that Maoism is plenty sophisticated—so sophisticated that it claims there is no contradiction between a dictator like Mao and a socialist society. But no thanks, it's too sophisticated for me. David Milton should get up off his knees.

—Ben Schumacher
New York City

A perfect antidote

Editor:

Want to express my delight with your new paper. Living out here in the boonies may have exaggerated my estimate, but I don't think so, since I've been reading popular and "alternative" publications as a magazine, newspaper addict for some years now. Your newspaper is a perfect antidote to the likes of *Time*, *Newsweek* and the "daily trash," and you seem to be getting better and better.

I'm struck by your marriage of form and content, readability and substance, etc. It looks like you and *Seven Days* are going places and I'm really happy to be watching. Have a great 1977 and beyond!

—Gene Tuck
Port Angeles, Wash.

A clinic in Siberia?

Editor:

Salvador Luria ended his column on cigarettes (*ITT*, Jan. 12) by raising what he called "socialist questions." He asked "Do people who contract

smoking-related diseases have the right to receive public health services?"

Maybe a clinic in Siberia!

The implications of Luria's question are ominous and the shadow of Big Brother emerges. After all, when there's smoke, there's fire.

—Chaim Salutsky
New York

Oops!

Editor:

I want to congratulate you on *In These Times* and on your lack of sterile sectarianism.

You are doing a great service by providing coverage of the positions of the AFL-CIO on international trade and international corporations, especially in Dan Marshall's piece, "Multinationals: labor, business clash" (*ITT*, Jan. 5).

Marshall's story would have been even better if he had utilized the Port Chester conference to give us a briefing on the positions of various labor groups on MNCs and trade instead of just quoting a few spokesmen from the AFL-CIO. It is important that the positions of the AFL-CIO on investment and trade are at odds with most of world labor.

Another aspect of Marshall's story is more disturbing. "Chip" Levinson of the International Chemical and General Workers' Federation was called an "International Labor Organization (ILO) representative in Geneva, Switzerland." Does Levinson know that Marshall has transferred him from being Secretary-General of one of the most active and imaginative labor organizations to a representative of the officially-supported ILO? As a life-long teamster, I am aware of Levinson's work because our union belongs to the ICF. He has spoken to our conventions and sometimes has provided the only interesting speech there. Please do not label him as a rep of the stodgy and bureaucratic ILO—which Levinson rarely bothers to attend or work with.

Niels Dybdahl
Hollywood, Calif.

And double oops!!

Editor:

David Moberg, in his article on the Supreme Court's Arlington Heights ruling (*ITT*, Jan. 26), quadrupled the black population of that Chicago suburb. A special census taken in July 1976 showed a total minority population of 848 out of 71,012 residents. Of those, an estimated 200 are black.

There was no breakdown of the minority population in that census, but a 1972 special census showed that there were only 124 blacks out of 474 minority persons in a population of 69,204.

Arlington Heights' black population, then, is less than one-half of one percent.

Moberg might have noted that in addition to making it more difficult to prove racial discrimination, which is unconstitutional, the Supreme Court again said that discrimination against someone because they are poor is O.K. Blacks might have some rights, but the poor have none.

—Jerry De Muth
Chicago

Jerry Rubin vindicated

We have received letter from several readers calling attention to an apparent misquotation in a review (*ITT*, Dec. 22) of the book *White Coat, Clenched Fist: The Political Education of an American Physician* by Dr. Fitzhugh Mullan, to wit—

"One only needs to see Abbie Hoffman hawking wallpaper on television..."

We checked the text and found the quotation to be correct. But our informants say the ad in question featured Jerry Rubin, not Abbie Hoffman. We wrote Dr. Mullan asking for clarification or correction. His answer follows:

"It's even worse than that! The Abbie Hoffman (actually Jerry Rubin) ad I mentioned was for 'Up Against the Wall Paper.' It appeared on 'Saturday Night Live' and was a put-on ad.

It was the first time I had ever watched the show and I missed the joke—so the whole point is screwed up.

Your reader in California was the first to challenge me, though I'm sure others have caught the mistakes. I shuddered when you quoted them. I'm sorry, Abbie...."

—Fitzhugh Mullan
Washington, D.C.

For all his flourish...

Editor:

Marvin Mandell's letter to the editor (*ITT*, Feb. 9) suggests that he misread my column of Jan. 26.

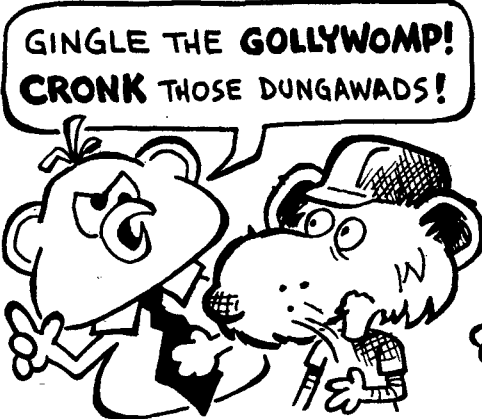
In writing the column, I was not seeking to put forth my own views on all of the reasons for the lack of a popular socialist movement in this country, but rather to criticize two prevalent left views.

Moreover, if Mandell were familiar with NAM, he would know that one of our founding principles (which continues to be at the core of our politics) is the insistence on the necessity for a socialist organization and movement here to exist independent of any socialist country, to chart its own course to socialism, and to openly criticize the limitations of existing socialist countries. (This same approach seems to be reflected in *ITT* editorials.)

I do, however, strongly disagree with Mandell's characterization of all socialist countries as "totalitarian monstrosities." Such a view reflects a lack of understanding of the particular history, development and material limitations of the different socialist countries and of their positive accomplishments.

Finally, for all his rhetorical flourish, Mandell avoids dealing with the hard question of why socialist movements have been able to develop in almost every advanced capitalist country in Europe—even with their democratic traditions—and not here. No single explanation yet developed sufficiently explains our own history. Mandell's point has validity, but it too is insufficient. The task of answering that question is still before us.

—Roberta Lynch
Chicago



Salvador Luria

The theory of evolution is still a threat to racist regimes like that of South Africa

A few days ago I received a surprising letter. It came from Cape Town, South Africa. My correspondent asked me if I would help her collect the signatures of many prominent scientists, Nobel Prize winners, to a statement "affirming that evolution of all life is well confirmed."

My first reaction was one of impatience at such naivete. What would anyone think if 30 or 40 scientists publicly affirmed the correctness of the atomic theory of matter? Or the soundness of the electromagnetic theory of light? Can science be validated by affirmation?

And yet, I soon began to realize the deep social and political implications of the request made by my correspondent.

Darwin's theory of evolution, the central generalization of biology, states and presents evidence that all organisms existing on Earth are historically related by some degree of common heredity; that groups of different plants or animals derive from common ancestors; that the basic structures and processes of life—genes, cells, and their functions—are common throughout the living world. More important still, evolution theory tells us that no organism is "superior" to any

What would anyone think if 30 or 40 scientists publicly affirmed the correctness of the atomic theory of matter? Or the soundness of the electromagnetic theory of light? Can science be validated by affirmation?

other and that a species such as the human species is defined only by the fact that matings among their members—white, black, yellow—are reproductively fertile.

The racial supremacists of South Africa, the defenders of race separation (apartheid), fear and detest the biological theory of evolution because it may undermine the myth of white superiority and uniqueness. They even claim that blacks and whites belong to different species!

In South Africa as in our own Southern states (and also elsewhere in our country) antiblack prejudice and oppression have been bolstered by the antievolutionist propaganda of fundamentalist religious groups. In California and in other states the battle against the teachings of evolution in the public schools has gone on for generations.

The argument put forward by racist antievolutionists is that evolution is not a fact, "only a theory." This argument reveals a complete scientific ignorance. Science deals essentially with theories, which become part of the body of science because they prove capable of interpreting, explaining, and predicting a whole range of facts. The fall of an apple is a fact; Newtonian gravitation is a scientific theory that explains the fall of objects. Eclipses are facts; the Copernican system of planetary motion is a scientific theory that explains and predicts the phenomena of the solar system.

Prejudice may take the form of fundamentalist religion and may reject unpalatable scientific theory, but the ultimate grounds and purposes of prejudice are power and greed. The South Africa apar-

theid leaders who suppress the theory of evolution in their schools and libraries want to preserve their power and to exploit the black people whose country they have stolen. Likewise, in the seventeenth century the Roman church denied the Copernican theory of the solar system and jailed Galileo because the new science threatened to weaken the authority of the Bible through which the church held people in ignorance and submission.

My correspondent writes: "Evolution is not taught in our schools; our museums neglect it, the press and government and vested interest behave as if Darwin's theory is a book on a dusty shelf.... [Evolution should be] a basis for thinking about religion, national barriers, ecology, abortion." She is right. But change will come, not through proclamations by prominent scientists, but through the struggle of people of South Africa for their own freedom.

Salvador Luria is a Nobel laureate in bio-chemistry and a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His column appears regularly.



Joshua Dressler

According to the law, there are thousands of living dead

Who is physically alive (although often barely), but legally dead? Karen Quinlan? No, the men and women in American prisons.

This is no flippant statement. In most states of this country, people in prisons are victims of "civil death" statutes. Under them, the convict while incarcerated is considered dead for most purposes. Among other things, a prisoner typically may not vote, make a contract, marry, divorce or sue another (although, with macabre logic, the "dead" person may often be sued). Many of these "disabilities" apply even after release. Furthermore, new extra-legal disabilities apply, including social ostracism and the inability to find employment.

Some states have repealed their "civil death" laws, but the reality remains that a convict is treated, and begins to feel, like a piece of garbage, something abandoned and unwanted.

Consider California, noted for its "progressive" outlook regarding penology. A California State Bar committee, made up of judges and other respectables, reported in 1975 that the state's prisons were "disgraceful dungeons ... wholly inadequate places to house human beings ... incompatible with fundamental and minimal standards of ... humanity. They are ancient, dark, depressing and overcrowded—places of total hopelessness and despair.... If chimpanzees were caged in ... these prisons, the SPCA would howl and protest in horror. A man should be treated at least as decently as a zoo animal."

►Dehumanization is routine.

The problems go far beyond physical conditions. Murder and assault by guards upon inmates are common. Drugs are easier to obtain than on the streets. Homosexual rape is an accepted event (while heterosexual relationships are prevented). Dehumanization is an integral portion of the regime.

Moreover, at a time when the constitutional rights of nearly all other oppressed groups have been at least partially recognized, rights of prisoners remain shockingly few.

Prisoners' mail—outgoing and especially incoming—is censorable, as is their speech and ability to obtain reading matter. Religion is circumscribed. What would otherwise constitute unconstitutional searches and seizures and invasions of privacy are permitted. Inhuman solitary confinement and physical abuse occur without hindrance or due process.

►Courts do nothing.

The courts permit this to happen through application of a nearly dead doctrine, "judicial abstention." Courts say they lack the ability or time to "second guess" prison officials. This leaves prisoners to the humanism of the warden and guards, which is like leaving the fate of deer to the National Rifle Association.

For a while the courts took a halting and timid look at prison conditions. Occasionally they restricted the nearly unlimited discretion of prison officials. But more recently, the United States Supreme Court has shown an unwillingness to promote prison reform.

The most recent high court decision is a case in point. Last month the Supreme Court ruled in a case involving J. W. Gamble, a Texas prisoner, who was severely injured when a 600-pound bale of cotton fell on him while he was unloading a truck. For two months he attempted to obtain relief for extremely severe back pains. At first the prison doctor prescribed medication and kept him in the prison infirmary. Soon, however, he was released and ordered back to work, despite his continued complaints of pain. When the pain became too great for him to perform his duties he was disciplined by being placed in solitary confinement. Finally, a prison doctor reordered medication, but the prison did not fill the prescription for four

days. When the doctor asked that Gamble be given a particular prison bunk in which to sleep, the guards refused. No relief in sight, Gamble sued under the Federal Civil Rights Act, alleging cruel and unusual punishment by the doctors and prison officials.

The Court held 8-1 that since Gamble did not allege that the mistreatment was intentional, he did not have a valid law suit. Only if a prisoner can prove "deliberate indifference to serious medical needs" by prison officials can the court invoke a constitutional right.

The state of the law regarding prisoners is so abysmal that the decision is considered by some to be a victory for prisoners. In fact, however, it is virtually impossible to prove deliberate indifference if a prison doctor even perfunctorily checks the prisoner. Apparently, only if prison officials knowingly allow an inmate to remain in the cell during an epileptic seizure or heart attack would the prisoner be protected under this decision (if he or she lives long enough to state a claim).

Most egregious is the majority's citation as good law of an old, and generally forgotten 1947 case. In that case, a Louisiana black man on death row was taken to the electric chair, strapped in, and the switch pulled. Electricity caused extreme pain to the prisoner, his eyes bulged profusely, and he was lifted by the shock right off the seat of the chair. Due to a malfunction, however, the shock was insufficient to kill. The Supreme Court held that it was not cruel and unusual punishment to allow the state to try again since the original error was unintentional. It was this "humane" decision that was cited by liberal Thurgood Marshall to support his decision in the Gamble case. Justice Stevens, the sole dissenter, noted that to the prisoner the pain is as severe and cruel whether or not the infliction of pain occurred deliberately or merely negligently. Stevens' logic was ignored.

►What can be done?

Given the status of the law, what options are available to the prisoner and his or her supporters? First, lawsuits by prisoners must continue despite the high court's hindrances and lower courts' apathy. The courts' ability to stay out of the fray will be made increasingly difficult if the quantity and quality of the allegations increase. Moreover, even judges are capable of being educated to the conditions within prisons.

Second, efforts to change the status quo are taking place and need support. For example, the American Friends Service Committee has organized a prison construction moratorium committee, to raise fundamental issues about conditions in prisons and regarding generally the cruelty of all prisons.

Finally, a few prisoners' unions, mostly in California, have been started. The plan here is to organize prisoners so they can state their grievance with less fear of punitive reactions. The unions may also serve to prevent prison officials from playing on the racial fears of some inmates to create disunity. Finally, representatives of the unions on the outside can present their grievances to legislatures and other outsiders.

Whatever is done, we must stop ignoring prisoners' plight. Too many socialists have apparently felt that prison reform or abolition is either irrelevant or, at the least, not within their sphere of interest. People interested in becoming involved might contact the local A.F.S.C., American Civil Liberties Union, or National Lawyers Guild to find out what is possible in their area.

Joshua Dressler is a lawyer who teaches at the University of San Fernando Valley College of Law, Los Angeles. His column appears regularly.



IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Remember when the AAA killed a million hogs a day?

In the depression summer of 1933, with millions hungry and ill-clothed, New Deal Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace directed the destruction of 10 million acres of growing cotton and the slaughter and disposal of six million pigs. It was, he said, "a shocking commentary on our civilization," and could not be seen as "acts of idealism in any sane society." Yet he approved.

A little later, faced with the prospect of destroying a large part of the winter wheat crop and explaining "the logic of plowing under wheat while millions lacked bread," Wallace was saved by the weather. "Fortunately," as he said, it caused "a sensational reduction" in the harvest.

In January 1977, Florida's citrus fruit growers faced a bumper crop and feared "they would lose money because of the

ate property-owners. That means higher prices not related to real costs.

Rinfret has been advising his corporate clients to raise prices and, notes the *Wall Street Journal* (Dec. 18, 1976), they have been doing so "right through the most recent recession and ... the current business sluggishness."

Rinfret replies to those who say this is unpatriotic that "the name of the game is to survive.... The American economy and the Free World's ... have problems, in spades, and ... there aren't any solutions that are acceptable within the social framework we live in."

President Carter, like Franklin D. Roosevelt before him, has called us to patriotic sacrifice in the name of preserving that "social framework."

In the golden days of 19th century

They have in common a policy of government aid to capital in raising prices and maintaining artificial scarcities in order to give corporations the "incentive" to invest. That incentive is no longer an efficient or humane way of allocating resources and providing for the general welfare. The late 19th century Robber Barons, in exacting their toll from the people, were pygmies by comparison.

surplus." (*New York Times*, Jan. 22) "Nature bailed us out," said the Florida Citrus Fruit Commission, "an oversupply situation has been corrected."

The resemblance of the 1970s to the 1930s is striking.

As in the 1930s, there is now a stagnation of capital spending, a slow rate of economic growth, and high unemployment. The investment fall-off is due not to a "shortage of capital" or lack of "business confidence," but, like then, to capacity in excess of profitable use, leaving banks with huge amounts of idle funds.

As in the 1930s when private construction and public works both plummeted, private construction is depressed today and public construction is 25 percent below a decade ago in an economy 30 percent larger.

The result now, as in the 1930s, is cutbacks in public services, deterioration of public facilities, inadequate and expensive housing, when all are in greater need.

Like then, scarcity for the people—of food, housing, fuel, jobs—flows from the reality of glut—too much oil, gas, food, productive capacity, idle investment funds, to guarantee sufficiently attractive rates of return for the Lords Corporate to allow society to put them to use.

Pierre Rinfret, consultant to the past three presidents and to many of the largest corporations, helps us to understand the reality. "In the American free enterprise system," he notes, "capital formation and profits are virtually the same things." That is the problem. To get a little "formation" of productive capacities, we must yield a profit to the corpor-

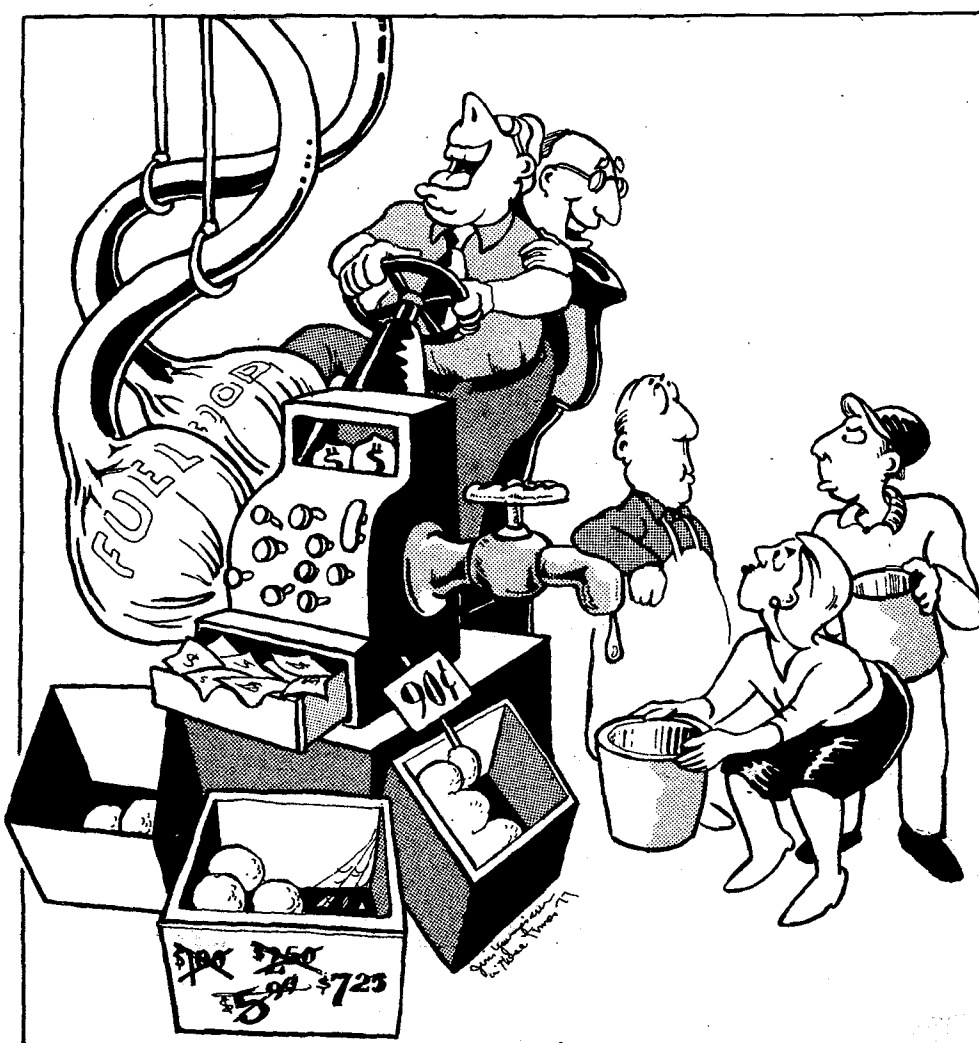
small-enterprise capitalism, competition meant declining prices and profit rates. Survival of the fittest meant survival of the cheapest. That was the measure of progress. In the present time of corporate oligopoly "competition" means higher prices and restricted production to maintain corporate profits. It means the survival of the most expensive. It is the way of the dodo. It is a patriotism of fools or scoundrels.

The incapacity of leaders who pride themselves on "practicality," to deliver rational programs, flows from the central fact of our times: Corporate-capitalism is a social system that rewards scarcity, imposed upon a technology of abundance. The Carter administration, like FDR's is committed to preserving the "social framework," not to the rational domestic management of an abundance technology.

They have in common a policy of government aid to capital in raising prices, maintaining artificial scarcities, and thereby profits, in order to give the corporations the "incentive" to invest. That incentive is no longer an efficient or humane way of allocating resources and providing for the general welfare. It is a social overhead that the people pay for the use of their productive capacities. The late 19th century Robber Barons, in exacting their toll from the people, were pygmies by comparison.

The incompatibility of corporate profit priorities with a sound economy is clearly revealed in the present energy crisis.

Electric companies are asking for higher rates related not to real costs, but only to the profit "incentive." For example, the Illinois Commonwealth Edison Company demands a 14.5 percent rate hike, most of which would go to stockholders,



the rest to taxes. Thomas G. Ayers, president and chairman of Com Ed, says that the hike is needed to yield a profit sufficient "to make our securities attractive to investors," because the competitive profit level has been "steadily increasing." Public ownership would make such social bribery unnecessary and would get and deliver electricity more cheaply.

The oil and natural gas "shortage" presents a similar situation. As Thornton Bradshaw, president of Atlantic Richfield Corporation (ARCO) and member of Carter's campaign task force on energy, explains in the February *Fortune*, the real problem in oil is the glut of crude, and the need for government aid to maintain prices high enough to entice corporations into letting us get and use it. In gas, too, there is no shortage, but a campaign bolstered by the weather to justify government enforcement of prices to make profits "competitive."

Carter's program, embodied in the Act just passed by Congress and, hinted at by Carter in his recent press conference, in his upcoming "comprehensive" program, is designed to do just that.

Higher energy prices mean lower real income for all wage-earners, retirees and homeowners; they mean hobbling an already stagnant economy with higher fuel costs and hence continued unemployment that makes advances for blacks, other minorities, and women impossible; it means unemployed and dispirited youth and an economy of deepening inequality of circumstance and opportunity.

Carter's plan centers on shifting energy planning from the Interior Department where Secretary Cecil D. Andrus is known as responsive to non-corporate groups, to a super-agency under Schlesinger, a tried and true member of the corporate team. The fight for a rational and democratic energy program may well begin with opposing the transfer of that power to Schlesinger. But it must also mount the struggle for an alternative Congressional

energy program.

It is time for Congress to create a public energy system and for socialists to go to the people on the issue.

"Nationalization" is not a sufficient formula. A public system should invoke a creative use of our federal structure and experience to decentralize initiatives and control while bringing the benefits of national resources and coordination.

A federal energy board, having investment, production, and distribution authority, meshed with similar regional boards, in turn tied to state and local public energy associations, would be worth considering. The boards and associations should consist of representatives of labor, consumers, and public interests, and not of corporate interests. The system would be analogous to the Federal Reserve System or the Federal Farm Land Bank system, but it would be clearly a public, not-for-profit system and strictly accountable to Congress, the state legislatures, the city councils and country boards. It should have its own parallel energy banking network, which would hold deposits of energy revenues and, under control of the legislative branches, be centers of public investment and planning.

Small private gas and oil retailers now being squeezed between corporate power and consumer resentment could serve honorably within such a public system even as private businesses.

Such a system would integrate democratic planning and public service.

At the state and local levels, popular movements can and should press for public-owned energy agencies. Such state and local struggles would strengthen the national movement.

The Corporate Power and its alliance with the Presidency now imposes a stranglehold on the people's right to provide for themselves. Against Carter's program for the extension of Corporate power, let us raise the demand for Free Public Enterprise.